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THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIA.

IT is a difficult undertaking to give, in the compass of a few pages, a sketch of Russia's economic condition; and the undertaking is still further complicated by the fact, that I do not know how much acquaintance with Russia on the part of the reader I am justified in assuming. All things considered, I have thought it best to direct attention to a few points only,—chiefly those which are most deeply agitating Russian circles at the present moment, and which refer to Russia's economic development during the recent past.

The industrial development of Russia has of late been progressing with rapid strides. In support of my statement, I shall present a series of figures which will speak for themselves.

The Reference Book of the Department of Trade and Manufactures, just published—"Mercantile-Industrial Russia"—shows 38,401 factories in Russia, with a gross product valued at 2,745,345,000 rubles, and employing 1,742,001 workmen.[1] In 1893 there were only 1,400,000 workmen; so that, in the space of three years, the number of workmen increased by more than 340,000, or more than 24 per cent. Thus the annual increase in the number of workmen was 8 per cent; while the population increased at the rate of 1.5 per cent.

Let us now examine the growth of Russia in a few individual industries. In 1890 the output of the iron-mines (for the whole Empire) amounted to 48,700,000 poods[2]; in 1891 it was 119,500,000 poods;

[1] Only those establishments are taken into account whose yearly product is valued at not less than 1,000 rubles, or which employ not less than 16 workmen, or where mechanical motive power is used.

[2] The Russian pood equals 36.07 United States pounds.

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while in 1895 it reached 178,500,000 poods. The smelting of pig-iron rose from 24,960,000 poods, the average from 1871–1880, to 73,300,000 poods in 1891–5, and to 113,980,000 poods in 1897. In the South of Russia in 1887 there were only 5 blast-furnaces, in which about 4,000,000 poods of pig-iron were smelted; in 1890, 9 furnaces were in operation, and the output had risen to 13,228,000 poods; and in 1893 there were 13 furnaces, with an output of 19,868,000 poods. From that date, with the influx of foreigners into the South, the working of the iron-mines proceeded so energetically that in 1897 the number of blast-furnaces had risen to 25, and the output of iron to 46,182,000 poods. During 1898 the iron industry made such progress that the quantity of iron smelted in the first half of the year reached 29,000,000 poods; and for the whole year the output is estimated at more than 60,000,000 poods. In the present year it is believed that the number of blast-furnaces will reach 43, of which 35 will be working; and the output is expected to reach about 88,000,000 poods.

The development of the iron industry in Russia is greatly impeded by the regulations affecting mining. There the owner of any portion of the earth's surface is regarded as the owner of its interior; and such conditions are detrimental to the development of the mines. Taking advantage of their right of possession, the owners of the iron-mines of Krivóy Rog (Crooked Horn), in the South of Russia, demand very large sums for the right of working them; and this adds greatly to the price of mining products. The peasant village communities, which are also land-owners in this locality, sometimes impose exacting conditions upon the renting of a parcel of land for mining, as, for example, that the contractor shall not build a railway for transportation of the ore, but that the privilege of all transportation shall be given to the members of the village society at a fixed rate,—a rate more than double the ordinary rate for transportation by rail. Such conditions are met with in other parts of Russia as well.

The oil industry also has developed with great rapidity. In 1870, 1,704 poods were produced; in the period 1871–80, 10,891 poods annually; during 1881–90 the annual product was 104,160 poods; in 1891–95, 337,745 poods; in 1896, 423,943 poods; and in 1897, in Baku alone, 442,500 poods. So, in the course of twenty-seven years, the output of oil increased more than three hundredfold; while the price diminished sixfold (from 45 kopeks[1] in 1870 to 7.7 kopeks in 1897)!

[1] 100 kopeks = 1 ruble = 77 cents United States money (theoretically: in practice, about 50 cents on the average).

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The product of the cotton-spinning industry rose from 259,000,000 rubles in 1885 to 338,700,000 rubles in 1890, and to 531,300,000 in 1896. Glass-manufacturing increased from 8,300,000 rubles in 1880 to 19,500,000 rubles in 1896. The output of coal increased from 112,500,000 poods, the average for the period 1871–80, to 465,900,000 poods in 1891–95, and to 565,000,000 poods in 1896. The building of machinery was estimated at 56,400,000 rubles in 1880, and at 136,400,000 rubles in 1896.

I think these examples are sufficient to characterize the rate of Russia's development during recent years. Let us now see to what extent Russia's home production meets her domestic demands.

In many factory and mill products, the percentage of the home demand supplied by importations has constantly decreased. In cotton goods imports decreased from 16.3 per cent in 1860 to 1.4 per cent in 1892; in woollen yarns, from 89.5 per cent in 1860 to 12.7 per cent in 1892; in woollen goods, from 11 per cent in 1860 to 4.3 per cent in 1892; in linen thread, from 7.6 per cent in 1860 to 0.8 per cent in 1892; in linen goods, from 46.3 per cent in 1867 to 6.7 per cent in 1892; in silk stuffs, from 53.5 per cent to 17.7 per cent; in chemical products and dyes, from 69.8 per cent in 1856 to 55.1 per cent in 1892; in machinery, from 52.2 per cent in 1867 to 30.8 per cent in 1892; in sugar, from 50 per cent in 1860 to *nil* in 1892; in oil, from 20.0 per cent in 1867 to *nil* in 1892.

The consumption of pig-iron in Russia in 1883 was estimated at 43,800,000 poods, 66.9 per cent of which was supplied by Russia; but in 1893 it was 79,900,000 poods, 88.3 per cent of which was home product. As far as iron is concerned, the corresponding figures for 1883 are 26,000,000 poods, of which 75.6 per cent was Russian product, and in 1893, 35,000,000 poods, of which 85.5 per cent was produced in Russia. The consumption of steel rose from 13,800,000 poods in 1883 to 39,800,000 poods in 1893. Of this, home production supplied 9.7 per cent in 1883, and 96.7 per cent in 1893. The consumption of coal rose from 374,800,000 poods in 1883 to 569,000,000 poods in 1893; 64.7 per cent of the entire demand in the former year, and 81.5 per cent in the latter, having been supplied by the home product.

On the other hand, the foreign product plays an increasing part in supplying the demand for copper: 10.6 per cent in 1860; 40.9 per cent in 1867; 64.7 per cent in 1876; 46.3 per cent in 1885; and 65.6 per cent in 1892.

Railways are extending at a rapid pace. Thus, up to November 1,

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1898, the entire railway system open for travel amounted to 42,669 versts,[1] in addition to which 10,459 versts were in process of construction, and construction-permits had been issued for 3,087 more. It is reported that the Ministry of Ways and Communications has in view a plan for constructing 3,600 additional versts. Railways are rapidly disintegrating the former natural economic state of Russia: in the words of one investigator, "they represent so many nails driven into the coffin of Russian economy."

In the fourteen years from 1880 to 1894 the freight traffic on the railways of Russia increased two and one-half-fold. In the same period the transportation of grain increased two and one-half-fold; of salt, twofold; of oil, thirteenfold; and of coal, threefold.

In spite, however, of the rapid building of new lines, and the increased facilities of the old ones, the railways seem unable to cope with the freight traffic, which increases year by year. The newspapers are constantly informing us of freight blockades on this line or that; and sometimes freight is delayed for several months. Of late the capacity of the railways for carrying freight has still further decreased, because the new reduced passenger tariff has come into force. In consequence of this tariff, passenger traffic has been augmented 43 per cent, so that it has been found necessary to increase the number of passenger trains at the expense of freight trains. Indeed, to avoid delay, it has become necessary on several railways to construct parallel lines. Moreover, the demand for cars has become so great that the Russian car-shops are unable to execute all the orders; and, in consequence of the inadequate number of cars, the passengers are compelled to submit to inconveniently tight packing. Not long ago the head of the Government railways said plainly that, by reason of the lack of cars, no further development of passenger facilities was to be thought of in Russia, and that the railways were unable to cope with even their present traffic.

It is interesting to note that not many years ago, when the Ural Railway was built,—in the very heart of the Russian iron-producing industry, at the foot of the Ural (Mount of Blessing),—*the rails laid down were made in Belgium of Belgian iron.* It is not so very long ago that Russia was almost entirely lacking in railways and that in Western Siberia, on the frontier of Russia, broken dams were repaired with flour because means of transportation for proper material did not exist! Now, as we have seen, a very large percentage of the domestic demand is supplied by the Russian product.

[1] A verst is two-thirds of a mile.

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The progress of Russian industry might have been still greater if there had not been established that very high, indeed almost prohibitive, Customs tariff, which, instead of serving as an inducement to production, creates apathy among Russian manufacturers by assuring them in advance almost fabulous dividends. By reason of this high Protection, Russian manufacturers have no incentive to introduce technical improvements. Lulled to repose by high dividends, they consider it their duty, at the very first hint of possible competition, to appeal to the Government to raise the tariff. From this point of view, the invasion of Russia by foreign capital appears very desirable,—a matter of which I shall speak more fully later on. If foreign merchandise cannot, in original form, penetrate the Chinese Wall which our high tariff presents, it nevertheless makes its way to us in the form of money, which, being here converted into merchandise, creates competition for our manufacturers, who are suffering from a *hypertrophy of profits.* All Russian consumers suffer quite absurdly from excessive Protection, and pay vast sums to the manufacturers; while, on the other hand, Russian agricultural industry suffers, because of the high duties on many articles which agriculture requires for its development.

By reason of the high duty on iron (30 kopeks, gold, per pood, on pig-iron), the price does not fall. In 1876, iron in bars sold at the Nijni-Novgorod Fair for 1 ruble 36 kopeks to 1 ruble 75 kopeks a pood, and in 1894 for 1 r. 30 k. to 2 r. 35 k.; sheet iron, in 1876, for 2 r. 40 k. to 3 r. 20 k., and in 1894, for 2 r. to 4 r. 40 k.; boiler-iron, in 1876, 2 r. 40 k. to 3 r., and in 1894, 2 r. to 3 r.; steel, in 1876, 1 r. 95 k. to 4 r. 80 k., and in 1894, 1 r. 90 k. to 3 r. 50 k.

The Russian people pay as much as 100,000,000 rubles a year for iron alone, and, therefore, cannot use as much iron as they really need.

The high tariff on iron compels the peasant to till the soil with his antediluvian plough, to harrow it with dry wood, to reap the grain with his hands, to winnow it by the breezes, to grind it, if not in domestic mortar or cask, in a windmill which contains not a single iron nail, and, finally, even to avoid using the macadam highway, on which he does not like to drive homeward, with his unshod horse and his un-tired cart, risking both himself and his horse. This is the picture drawn by one Russian investigator. For the benefit of the American reader, I may add, that, in consequence of the high price of iron, it is not uncommon, in a Russian village, to meet with a wooden lock! Of course, Russia cannot refuse to protect her industry; but the lowering of the tariff would be beneficial to her industrial development, on

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the one hand, by serving as a stimulus to the introduction of improvements, and, on the other hand, by increasing the purchasing power of the people, and thus extending the *domestic* market for the products of Russian industry. In 1893 the consumption of iron in Russia *per capita* was 0.8 pood. In 1897 it was 1.31 poods, as against 7 poods in England. The reduction of the tariff on pig and other iron is a question of vital importance to the entire population of Russia. For example, the cost of rails in Russia in 1894–5 was from 1 r. 80 k. to 2 r. per pood.

By reason of the high Customs duties, industry itself suffers. Thus, in consequence of the high price of iron, it costs a great deal to set up mills in Russia. The construction and fitting of a flour-mill costs, with us, 50 per cent more than in Germany; and, were it not for the 20 kopeks duty on flour, we should have had, says one investigator (writing in 1897), American flour on the St. Petersburg market for the last two years, while, at the same time, we were exporting vast quantities of wheat. Without the duty, the flour-mills could not have worked, owing to the great cost of the machinery and appurtenances. If the establishment of flour-mills were cheaper, it would become possible for us to export flour; and, on the other hand, there would be no necessity for a duty on that article. Tinware is subject to a duty which increases the cost of producing tin cans to such a degree that the exportation of meats and preserves from Russia is rendered impossible. American cans, with the meat, cost less in London than the empty cans in Russia!

Owing to the very high tariff, good winnowing-machines and sorters for cleaning the grain are absolutely unattainable by poor producers, who form the vast majority in Russia; and a great deal is lost through imperfect cleaning. In 1890, in an exportation of 182,000,000 poods, we lost—according to the calculations of Mr. Radtzich—20 kopeks a pood, simply as a consequence of the lower prices for our badly cleaned grain. This amounted, in round numbers, to more than 36,000,000 rubles.

Among 5,000,000 spindles there is not a single Russian spindle. Under such conditions, the cost of establishing in Russia a factory for spinning, weaving, or dyeing is, comparatively, very great. For example, in England the establishment of a cotton-spinning factory of 40,000 spindles costs at the rate of 12 to 15 rubles per spindle: in Russia the cost of establishing such a factory would be double. For this reason, the greater outlay for the depreciation fund of factory property bears very heavily on the goods. By way of reducing the proportionate

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outlay, the spinning- and weaving-factories are forced to increase the service time of the machinery in order to diminish the percentage of depreciation fund. Thus, on an average, the English spinning-factories, as Prof. Langovoy says, use their machinery ten years, while the Russians use theirs twenty years or more: the result is that technically the Russian industry lags behind. Thus, excessively high duties, which mean excessively high dividends, are among the chief causes of mechanical backwardness. Russia cannot do without a protective tariff; but an excessively high tariff serves, as I have remarked, not as a stimulus to, but as a drag on, the industrial development of Russia. Can one demand cheap machinery of the proprietors of machine-shops, when they are obliged to pay two and one-half times as much as do the English for the raw material? With a high protective tariff, the Government lulls to sleep industrial energy and enterprise, and acts in the interests not of its own people, but of their competitors.

Let us take a look at ship-building. A steamer of a registered capacity of 2,282 tons, ordered in Glasgow, costs, say, £32,000, and the duty on such a steamer, according to the tariff of 1891, is £6,000. Of course, no capitalist wishes to waste £6,000 for the sake of having the steamer sail under the Russian flag. The injury to the development of Russian ship-building caused by a high importation tariff was, at last, recognized by the Government; and last year an Act was passed permitting the free importation of sea-going vessels. In the same way, free importation into Siberia is permitted in the case of several kinds of machinery required there for working the gold-mines. All these facts are signs that the people of Russia are beginning to recognize that such an absurd and excessively high tariff is not beneficial, but detrimental.

The protective tariff enables our mine-owners of the Ural to continue to produce iron by antiquated processes. A high tariff confines the production of pig-iron to old furnaces with cold blast, the coal alone for a pood of iron costing 25 kopeks! In 1893, out of 113 blast-furnaces in the Ural, 39 were working with cold blast. By this process, as is well known, three times as much fuel is required as in the hot blast. With the best technical arrangements, such as are found in Belgium, 23,659 workmen would suffice to manipulate the entire quantity of iron and steel in Russia: Radtzich says that there are 167,743 of them. The Ural has been particularly backward. According to the calculations of the same investigator, 142,486 men are there employed; while, with proper technical appliances, 11,165 men would be sufficient for the production of the same quantity of pig- and cast-iron.

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To show how great are the profits enjoyed by Russian enterprises, I may refer to the Popoff Distilling Company, which, in the period 1888–1896, received as profit on its capital 40 per cent, 60 per cent, 80 per cent, and even 100 per cent. The payment of dividends of 20 per cent is by no means rare in Russia, as, for example, in the cotton trade, by the Baranoff, the Savva Morozoff, and other companies. Many metallurgic enterprises pay 40 per cent, and some 80 per cent; so that in two or three years the enterprise pays in dividends sums equalling its entire capital! Therefore, it is perfectly comprehensible that, at a time when the Russian Government is endeavoring to secure the Chinese market for Russian wares, our manufacturers themselves should do nothing whatever to further the matter. In response to inquiries for goods, they simply maintain complete silence. This is but natural, as even the organ of the Ministry of Finance recently remarked in plain terms: "Why should they [Russian manufacturers] trouble themselves about foreign markets, when they have so good a market at home?" In short, excessive Protection has created among our manufacturing classes a peculiar malady, to which I have already alluded as "hypertrophy of profits."

The Government during the last three years has given assistance to the oil industry in the shape of a 90 per cent reduction in railway rates, losing thereby 10,000,000 rubles. But it is said, in connection with the millions contributed by the Government Treasury for the benefit of the Baku trade, that the oil-dealers *have not established a single long-distance vessel or tank-steamer, nor made the slightest effort to establish their own warehouses or agents at the chief points of trade in Russian kerosene.* The Government's millions went to swell the profits of the producers and their foreign commission-men without any benefit to the common weal. As a result of the excessive profits received by the oil-producers, the latter do not make any attempt to enlarge their business, by endeavoring to increase the use of oil, or to improve the method of manipulating it, but direct their attention chiefly to the production of petroleum waste; and, thanks to the low cost of railway transportation, sanctioned by the Government for the purpose of developing the oil industry, petroleum waste is crowding out coal in the area of the coal-bearing Don basin! Having an eye solely to Government aid, and to the earning of millions without any effort, our oil-producers are completely indifferent in the matter of securing foreign markets.

But, if it is at present utterly impossible for foreign wares to compete in Russian markets, we find, as an offset, that the importation of

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foreign capital into Russia has of late been steadily increasing. A high Customs tariff, which often is of a prohibitive character, and the high dividends which enterprises in Russia yield, are the two fundamental causes now leading to the immigration of foreign capital into the Empire. Recently, the immigration of foreign capital has been assuming larger and larger proportions. This movement is also aided by the decline of industrial profits in the West, and by the change from Russian paper money to gold coinage. Formerly, doubt as to the stability of exchange prevented enterprising foreigners from turning their capital into Russian paper rubles.

The immigration of foreign capital into Russia, and the transfer to it of many enterprises, could not fail to attract the attention of Russian society. On this question two parties are now in the field: one in favor of this immigration, because it perceives therein, in view of Russia's poverty of capital, the opportunity of further development of Russian industries; and the other, opposed to it, seeing in the influx of foreign capital nothing beyond the exploitation of Russia's wealth.

The Academician Yanschul, the well-known Russian economist, a supporter of the first of these parties, speaks on this subject as follows:

"As is well known to every one, foreigners, from time immemorial, have been our teachers and masters in Russian industries. Our first factories and works were indebted to strangers for their existence. Even in ancient Moscow, for example, not to mention its suburbs, we find down to the present day, whole branches of production chiefly in the hands of foreigners,—the perfumery trade in the hands of Frenchmen, and machine-works in those of Englishmen and Germans. As is well known, the most robust, perhaps, of our industries—the manufacture of cotton—grew up in Moscow, as throughout Russia, under English backing (Baron Knop). Alsatians created printed calico, etc. At the lowest calculation, 110,000,000 rubles of foreign capital per annum flowed into Russia in the years 1896 and 1897. In this connection, it is worthy of note that the capital of the newly organized foreign companies in Russia amounts to fully 4,000,000 rubles, and that of the remaining companies (mixed and Russian) to 1,500,000 only. Thus, foreigners place their capital chiefly in large enterprises, for which we Russians have not the means; and, without the aid of these very welcome strangers, our native wealth would, of course, have continued to lie, perhaps, forever, in the bowels of the earth, whereas now it is enriching Russia, and furnishing wages and means of subsistence to many thousands of our fellow-countrymen."

Mr. Yanschul, therefore, regards the influx of foreign capital as very desirable. He continues:

"Objections are possible only from a political standpoint, as, for example, against the concentration of a foreign population anywhere on the frontiers of the country. But, in all other respects, the development of our natural wealth, and the general participation of foreigners in our industries, is extremely beneficial and desirable; the more so, as foreigners, in placing their capital with us, bring with it their prac-

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tical minds, industrial experience, and that technical knowledge in which we are still lacking more than in money. Our manufacturers, protected, as they are, by a very high tariff, if they do not wish to earn just reproaches for having cared only for their own personal interests, must not forget their duties toward the Empire, nor that Russia has, for many years, borne for them annually the payment of hundreds, if not thousands, of millions in return for the products of their industry with but one object and justification, namely, to render it possible for them to maintain competition with foreign countries.

Outside competition is the only condition under which they can be pushed forward and prevented from going fast asleep in their comfortable position. It is in this particular that the influx of foreign capital and knowledge finds its greatest use. It is through foreign capital and knowledge that the brain of the Russian manufacturer is set a-thinking and that he is compelled to study out the best way to conduct his business. And this does not please him."

The Russian factory- and mine-owners would, of course, prefer a *dolce far niente* existence to noisy struggle with powerful foreign competitors. Mr. Yanschul concludes:

"This is the real reason why they so zealously strive to turn the attention of the powers that be to the influx of foreigners, and, if possible, to compel us to play the undignified *rôle* of the dog in the manger."

There is no doubt about the vast flow of capital into Russia; but this is not all. Of late, foreigners have begun to purchase land, even in far-off Eastern Siberia; the land being bought particularly in districts where coal-beds are supposed to exist,—in the Pri-Amur district and the Primorskoy Province, for instance, where there is every indication that the industry will grow in the future.

To show the relations of the Russian Ministry of Finance to the influx of foreign capital into Russia, I need only direct attention to the appearance of a book, written by order of the Ministry, and entitled, "Foreign Capital: its Influence on the Economical Development of the Country" (1898). The author of this work terms the export of capital from the older to the younger countries, "the economical law of our epoch," and states that this law is as unalterable as the physical law in obedience to which all the parts of a liquid surface are constantly striving to maintain one and the same level.

The author, Mr. Brandt, notes the vast export of capital from England, Germany, and France, and then proceeds to consider it from two points of view; viz., (1) that of the country which is exporting its capital, and (2) that of the country which is importing it. Mr. Brandt says:

"The advantages for the exporting country lie, first, in the augmentation of its income from the capital exported; second, in the establishment of a favorable economic balance, in spite of the excess of imports over exports . . . In view of the prevalence of Protection in manufacturing countries, which increases year

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by year, the countries which send their capital abroad are brought face to face, not with the question, Shall we export our ready-made goods or our capital? but with the question, Shall we export our capital or export nothing?"

And, through the iron laws which accompany certain economic conditions, the export of capital presents itself as inevitable.

Mr. Brandt also describes with eloquence the influence of imported capital upon the land which imports it, and especially upon production, *i.e.*, upon the development of enterprise. The capital creates competition in a country sheltered by a protective tariff from foreign rivalry; and this undoubtedly exerts a beneficial influence in awakening industry. The author of the work quoted perceives, in the influx of foreign capital into the Empire, a beneficial influence upon the working-class also, as its standard of life is thereby raised. Noting the higher standard of life of the foreign workman,—who is often imported into the country along with the capital,—Mr. Brandt assumes that their introduction will lead to an increase of wages for native Russian workmen also.

The book is certainly a sign of the times, and vividly reflects the attitude of the highest governmental circles toward the importation of foreign capital.

The other party is, as I have said, opposed to the importation of foreign capital. Says one of the journals representing this party:

"In our vast rich South there is no longer to be found a single branch of profitable industry which is carried on by Russian enterprise and with Russian capital, and which has been developed for the benefit of the Russian people. Everything —positively everything—here has been seized upon by greedy foreigners, who have flown and are still flying, like locusts, upon the blessed South of Russia, and are plundering all the wealth given to us by God. The Russian owners of this wealth are completely thrust aside. They must yield to 'the power of the enemy'; they must draw back before the pressure of the more powerful capital of the enemy; and, standing apart, are allowed only to admire the way in which these invading locusts, having alighted upon Russian soil and carefully gutted it, rapidly wax fat, and then fly off to other places, to plunder fresh, untouched riches, leaving behind, for us, only disembowelled, valueless wastes. Strong in their faith in God, and in loyalty to the Throne, in the name of Imperialism devotedly laying down their lives, and watering every inch with their blood, the Russian people have widely extended the bounds of the Empire; and now the descendants of those men who sacrificed their lives and their health and their property for the defence and extension of the fatherland, for the welfare of future generations, are forced to have recourse, in the character of common laborers, to foreign capital."

It is almost with tears that the organs of this party present to us the news of fresh usurpations on the part of foreigners, now in one, now in another, branch of industry. At one time they announce that foreign capital has grabbed the salt industry in the South of Russia; at another,

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the mining industry; then that it is beginning to seize upon the grape-growing and wine-producing industries in the Crimea, and so on. At the time of the present writing the Moscow "Vyedomosti," an ultra-conservative organ, is printing daily articles about foreign capital in the South of Russia. Recently it presented a regular necrology of Russian enterprises in the South, which have passed into the hands of foreigners. The following is an extract from that article:

"Beginning with 1895, our South has been literally 'foreignizing' itself, and Russian proprietors have been subjected to a regular 'stalking' process. The Ekaterinsky railway is being converted into some sort of foreign railway; and in the cars and at the stations none but foreign tongues are to be heard. Every train brings in scores of foreigners, who greedily pounce upon Russian wealth and Russian enterprises. A regular campaign is instituted against these—a merciless usurpation of Russian property, which soon will pass entirely into the hands of 'carpet-baggers.' The mining and foundry industries in the South of Russia are being openly transformed into foreign industries, and are undergoing a complete change of character."

Then the newspaper alludes to the 40 per cent dividend received by the foreign companies, and gives a long list of Russian enterprises which have passed into the hands of foreigners. In conclusion, it announces the existence of some imaginary company or other, the General Russian Mining and Metallurgical Society, "Olympia," whose object is declared to be to remove from Russian ownership, by means of purchase, all the mining enterprises in the South of Russia. The newspaper referred to may be said to have proclaimed a crusade against the invasion of Russia by foreign capital; but it is hardly likely to meet with success. The general deduction of the organs of this party is, that Russia is preparing to play the *rôle* of Kriloff's raven, which, when it dropped the cheese from its bill, in order to sing to the crafty fox, was left without either the cheese or the praise of the fox, which latter ran off with the cheese.

The practical measures recommended by the organs of this party are the placing of restrictions upon foreigners in the matter of acquiring real estate in Southern Russia, similar to the restrictions which have been in force in the Western Governments[1] since 1887.

Although foreigners bring us their capital and technics, yet this is not enough for our industries. Technical skill is at a low ebb in Russia; and even our technical knowledge is encyclopædic rather than of that expert character which is indispensable to our industrial development.

The gold industry in the Ural must undergo a change from the working of the gold-bearing sands to the working of gold in mines. But for

[1] A "Government," in Russia, is the equivalent of a State in the United States.

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this, more capital and more technical knowledge are required. The resources which the gold-diggers of the Ural have enlisted up to the present time are absolutely insufficient to permit of their taking full advantage of the situation; and we shall probably have to wait for foreign capital to put life into this branch of industry. The purchase by foreigners of our richest platinum-mines is already exerting a beneficial influence upon the development of this trade.

With the development of industrial enterprise, the tendency among capitalists toward the formation of syndicates is growing stronger and stronger. This movement is aided by the high Customs duties. The most interesting of these corporations at the present time is the Russian Sugar Syndicate. This is of particular interest, because it was formed under the direct action of the Ministry of Finance, and serves as a brilliant illustration of the paternal manner in which the latter looks after Russian industries. It does not, however, take into account the sacrifices which must be made by the people in this matter.

By regulating the taxation in accordance with the assumed quantity of sugar to be produced, the apparatus, the capacity of the vats, etc., and not according to the ready-made product, the Government endeavored to elevate the technics of sugar manufacture; and, as a matter of fact, they have been greatly improved. In the course of fourteen years, thanks to technical perfection in sugar-boiling, and improvement in the quality of the beets, 10.46 per cent of sugar has been obtained, instead of 7.43 per cent during the period 1881–2. That is to say, 34,600,000 poods were obtained in 1894, as compared with 24,600,000 poods in 1880.

In order to open a market for sugar abroad, the Government has instituted a non-refundable bounty on the Asiatic markets, and a refundable bounty on the European markets; but, as in 1887 the state of the finances in Russia was not brilliant, the Government was compelled to stop the payment of bounties on the European markets, and recommended the sugar-manufacturers to organize a syndicate for the purpose of regulating the price and the production.

In 1888, when the price of sugar had fallen very low, and the sugar-manufacturers petitioned the Government to take measures to save the beet-sugar industry from a fall in price which menaced it, the Minister of Finance wrote as follows in one of his reports presented to the Committee of Ministers:

"It is impossible to conceal the fact above referred to, that the matter cannot be immediately or entirely remedied by all these means. On the contrary, it is ex-

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tremely probable that the beet-sugar industry will not enter upon its normal course until the manufacturers themselves take the matter in hand. It is impossible to deny that an agreement of the manufacturers among themselves, for their common interests, might be of genuine advantage to the business. Thus, if all the manufacturers in the Empire would diminish the amount of beets they sow by even one-quarter, their object would already be, to a considerable extent, attained. On the other hand, the manufacturers might form among themselves a syndicate with the object of removing from the domestic markets the stock of sugar which, at any given time, constitutes a surplus, and exerts a depressing influence upon prices; and then they might export a part of this surplus, and keep a part on hand awaiting more favorable times in Russia."

The sugar-manufacturers heeded this advice and formed a syndicate. Being unable, however, to place it upon a stable foundation by private agreement, the Government was compelled, by the law of November 20 (O. S.), 1895, to take part in its organization. The Government took upon itself the task of regulating the syndicate; and, by maintaining the high price of sugar, a fund was formed for covering the losses which the sugar-manufacturers might suffer by exporting sugar. The law of November 20, 1895, fixed the quantity of sugar for the home market in such a way that any output in excess of a certain quantity put on that market was subjected to a rather heavy supplementary tax. A factory can export its superfluous stock; but such exportation is not compulsory.

In order to preclude any excessive rise in price in the home market, there is reserved at every factory a stock which, in case of a rise above the limit fixed by the Government, is put on the home market as required. In this way the Government itself fixes the quantity of sugar which may be put on the home market; and the sugar issued in excess of that limit is, as I have said, subjected to a heavy supplementary tax. In addition to this, the Government establishes the approximate price of sugar on the foreign market; and only in case the actual price exceeds this, is a special stock of sugar put upon the home market without the payment of a supplementary tax.

How high the ruling prices are may be gathered from the latest report of the Department of Indirect Taxes. A special investigation, instituted by the Department, showed that the average cost of producing one pood of sugar in the years 1895–6 (including the tax) was 3 rubles 53.52 kopeks; while, without the tax, it was 1 r. 90.38 k. That the expenditures connected with the manufacture of sugar are very large (the data are furnished by the sugar-manufacturers themselves) may be seen from the fact that they include, not infrequently, the expenses entailed in the maintenance of the office of the sugar-manufacturers,—

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the central establishment of the Syndicate,—the fees of the clergy for celebrating special services, contributions for the support of the blind, trips to Kieff and other places on various kinds of business, and many other things. The only item not included appears to be the sugar-manufacturers' outlay for the clothes of their wives and daughters!

Meanwhile, the approximate price which, when reached, will permit of an output of sugar from the reserve stocks of the factories, *without supplementary tax*, has been fixed by the Ministry of Finance, for different months of the year, at from 4 rubles 65 kopeks to 5 r. And the actual price of powdered sugar for the period 1895–96 was kept on the Kieff Exchange at 4 r. 40 k. to 5 r. 10 k.; on the Warsaw Exchange, at 4 r. 70 k. to 5 r. 15 k.; and in St. Petersburg, at 5 r. 5 k. to 5 r. 65 k. Hence, it is plain that huge dividends are assured to the Russian sugar-manufacturers by governmental regulation of the Sugar Syndicate. It was announced in the South-Russia Society of Rural Economy that the contingent of sugar for the home market is fixed on a very low scale, and that a "sugar famine" is thereby created.

The prices for exports of sugar during 1890–1894 stood at 2 r. 95 k., 2 r. 85 k., 2 r. 81 k., 2 r. 64 k., 1 r. 83 k., and then fell to 1 r. 42 k. in 1895, and to 1 r. 47 k. in 1896. That is to say, with the rise of price on the surplus, the sugar-manufacturers received from the sugar required for the home market the funds which enabled them to increase their exports of sugar and then to sell it at a reduced price on the foreign markets.

The Government, however, was forced at one time to repudiate the bounty on the exportation of sugar, and even the rebate, in the case of Central Asia, because, not infrequently, when the enterprising dealers took Russian sugar across the frontier, they received the bounty and then smuggled the same sugar back again into Russia, after which they reëxported it to Central Asia, and received a second bounty. Only in 1897, when the Customs surveillance was increased upon the frontier of Central Asia, was the rebate again introduced. The same thing happened in connection with the export of matches.

Space will not permit me to dwell upon other measures of encouragement, such as the export bounties on alcohol, nor to describe the condition of the working-classes, and the development of the factory laws. I have been able, in the present paper, merely to call attention to the fact that industry is rapidly developing in Russia, that the country is

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liberating itself more and more from importations to meet the requirements of home consumption, and that the governmental policy is directed primarily to industrial development,—facts manifested by the high protective tariff, export bounties, the peculiar regulation of the Sugar Syndicate, etc.

This industrial development of Russia is powerfully aided by the influx of foreign capital. Foreigners, who have more enterprise than the Russians, not only bring large capital into Russia, but, being better acquainted with recent improvements, also stir up Russian manufacturers to perfect the technics of production.

I should have been glad to bring the statistics in this article up to date in all of the industries, but it was not possible for me to do so.

IVAN OSEROFF.

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WAS WASHINGTON THE AUTHOR OF HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS?

HAVING celebrated the centenaries of events the most historic in the formative period of their great Republic, looking with confidence and hope toward the dawning of another century into which as a self-governing people they are about to enter, pressing forward in the highway of nations unto a destiny of unimaginable greatness and honor, the American people do well, in the short interim between the lapsing of the nineteenth century and the opening of the twentieth, to glance backward from the commanding height of national attainment already theirs and to erect along the wayside monuments of authenticated incidents, which for all time shall mark the stages of their country's progress and shall constitute its indisputable history.

The time is opportune for such engagement. A mild form of hero-worship possessed our forefathers, as to the leaders of the Revolution and the founders of the Republic; and the historian of their day, with imagination sublimated by the magnitude and splendor of their achievements, and vision enlarged through a glamour of admiration, wrote history often in terms of romance, and transformed the revolutionary sires into almost demigods. But ten or more decades have brought us to times matter-of-fact, discriminative, and inquisitorial.

The latter-day historian, in the calm of retrospection, has mainly to do with facts. Separating the authentic and reasonably sure from the unproved, the apocryphal, and the legendary, leaving sentiment and romance to be read between his lines according to the taste and temperament of readers, he proceeds along the line of apostolic precept to "prove all things." If cherished traditions dwindle and disappear before his persistent research, if images fall and shatter when confronted by his stubborn facts, it is Truth, not he, who is the iconoclast.

The admiration, the affection, and the reverence of Americans to-day for the Fathers of the Republic, while in no degree abated by the flight of time or changed conditions, find expression in terms and demonstrations consistent with a later and more phlegmatic age. We hardly admit that the wisdom of the Fathers was that of inspiration, or their

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foresight superhuman, or that they wore charmed lives in battle. We relegate such attributes to the pages of mythology, and prefer to estimate the statesmen and heroes of the Revolution by the standards of men.

Measured by such standards, so wise were they in counsel, so great in forum and in field, in every situation of deliberation or emergency, that, beholding their great achievement, their incomparable handiwork, the American Constitution, we recognize that they were men of tremendous mould; and we exclaim with unaffected fervor, "There were giants in the earth in those days."

The retrospective tendency of recent years, the searching of public and ancestral records so prevalent of late, have served to discover much of the remaining evidence needed for a fair determination of those incidents in our history heretofore obscure, doubtful, or disputed. The American people may now, in grand committee of the whole, review with intelligence the achievements of their forefathers, and, between men as well as political parties, adjudge "honor to whom honor is due." To their impartial judgment, therefore, I desire to submit the facts now known concerning the preparation of Washington's Farewell Address, which, among the famous public papers connected with our early history, has been second only in interest to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

The recommendations contained in the Address as to our international policy will be read with more than ordinary interest at this epoch in our national life, in consequence of conditions new and unforeseen which have suddenly developed through the war with Spain.

Toward the close of the first term of his administration, rich in honors heaped upon him by a grateful people, weary of the strain and responsibility of office, anxious (as he said) to retire to the shades of private life, and not expecting to stand for nomination for a second term, it entered into the heart of the Father of his Country to issue to his countrymen a valedictory address. In it he proposed to render to them an account of his stewardship, to express his gratitude for their confidence ever reposed in him, to advise them to observe a jealous vigilance over their liberties, and to warn them against those dangers from within and from without—which his experience and judgment enabled him to recognize lurking in certain foreign and domestic policies—most likely to destroy their tranquillity and to imperil the Federal Union. With this in mind, toward the close of his first term he communicated to James Madison, a statesman in whose judgment, ability, and friendship he then had every right to confide, his intention to prepare a farewell ad-

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dress. In a letter dated May 20, 1792, after requesting Mr. Madison's opinion as to the propriety of announcing before the end of his term his determination not to continue in office, Washington wrote:

"I desire, if the measure should strike you as proper, or likely to produce public good or private honor, that you would turn your thoughts to a Valedictory Address from me to the public, expressing in plain and modest terms, that, having been honored with the Presidential chair, and to the best of my abilities contributed to the organization and administration of the Government, that having arrived at a period of life when the private walks of it in the shades of retirement become necessary, and will be most pleasing to me (and as the spirit of the Government may render a rotation in the elective offices of it more congenial with the ideas the people have of liberty and safety), I take leave of them as a public man, and in bidding them adieu, retaining no other concern than such as will arise from fervent wishes for the prosperity of my Country, I take the liberty at my departure from civil life, as I formerly did at my military exit, to invite a continuance of the blessings of Providence upon it and upon all those who are supporters of its interests, and the promoters of harmony, order, and good government."

To this letter Madison replied June 20, sending the draft of a farewell address, prepared along the lines indicated; suggesting publication in the newspapers as the best mode of making it public, but at the same time urging Washington to reconsider his determination to retire from office, and pointing out the necessity for his continuing another term.

Having reconsidered his determination to retire, and having been reëlected,—he accepting reëlection, among other reasons, in order to vindicate and establish his foreign policy, which had been attacked by the friends of an alliance with France (Madison having now drifted away from him, and being among the number of active opponents of his neutral policy),—it appeared more than ever appropriate toward the close of his second term that the last act of his administration should be the delivery of a farewell address. To whom could he now more confidently turn for advice and assistance than to his late Secretary of the Treasury, the great and gifted Alexander Hamilton?

Having been a member of his military family, being in full accord with his foreign policy and the most pronounced of Federalists, holding the same construction of the Federal Constitution, and being in close friendship and sympathy with him, Hamilton, of all men, could best advise, assist, and enter into the heart of Washington in preparing his Farewell Address. A short time prior to May 10, 1796, there had been some conversation upon the subject, as appears from the following letter of that date from Hamilton to Washington:

"NEW YORK, May 10th, 1796.

"SIR: When last in Philadelphia, you mentioned to me your wish that I should re-dress a certain paper which you had prepared. As it is important that a thing

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of this kind should be done with great care, and much at leisure, touched and retouched, I submit a wish that, as soon as you have given it the body you mean it to have, it may be sent to me. . . "

To the above letter Washington replied, on May 15, in part as follows:

"I have been favored with your letter of 10th, and enclose (in its rough state) the paper mentioned therein, with some alteration in the first page (since you last saw it), relative to reference at foot. Having no copy by me except of the quoted part, nor the notes from which it was drawn, I beg leave to recommend the draught now sent to your particular attention. Even if you should think it best to throw the whole into a different form, let me request, notwithstanding, that my draught may be returned to me (along with yours), with such amendments and corrections as to render it as perfect as the formation is susceptible of; curtailed if too verbose, and relieved of all tautology not necessary to enforce the ideas in the original quoted part. My wish is, that the whole may appear in a plain style, and be handed to the public in an honest, unaffected, simple garb. . . If you form one anew, it will of course, assume such shape as you may be disposed to give it, predicated upon the sentiments contained in the enclosed paper. . . "

The draft referred to in the above letter, and enclosed in it to Hamilton, was Madison's original draft, which Washington had preserved, and had himself altered somewhat to suit the conditions then prevailing, and to which he added, under the heading, "Hints and Heads of Topics," such other subjects, considerably elaborated, as he wished Hamilton to embody and amplify in the paper he requested him to prepare. The "quoted part" referred to in Washington's letter was the Madison draft, so far as he had incorporated it in his own draft now enclosed to Hamilton. In another letter to Hamilton, he says, referring to the Address:

"And as I have great confidence in the abilities and purity of Mr. Jay's views, as well as in his experience, I should wish that his sentiments on the purport of this letter, and other interesting matters as they occur, may accompany yours; for, as I have no other wish than to promote the true and permanent interests of this Country, I am anxious always to compare the opinions of those in whom I confide with one another, and those again (without being bound by them) with my own, that I may extract all the good I can."

On July 5 Hamilton wrote:

"I have completed the first draught of a certain paper, and shall shortly transcribe, correct, and forward it. I will then also prepare and send forward the original paper corrected upon the general plan of it, so that you may have both before you for a choice, in full time, and for alteration, if necessary."

On July 30 Hamilton wrote again:

"I have the pleasure to send you herewith a certain draught, which I have endeavored to make as perfect as my time and engagements permit. It has been my object to render this act importantly and lastingly useful, and avoiding all just cause

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of present exception, to embrace such reflexions and sentiments as will wear well, progress in approbation with time, and redound to future reputation. How far I have succeeded you will judge.

I have begun the second part of the task, the digesting the supplementary remarks to the first address, which in a fortnight I hope also to send you. Yet I confess, the more I have considered the matter, the less eligible this plan has appeared to me. . . If you should incline to take the draught now sent, after perusing and noting anything you wish changed, and will send it to me, I will with pleasure, shape it as you desire. This may also put it in my power to improve the expression, and perhaps in some instances to condense. . ."

On August 10, 1796, Hamilton wrote again:

"About a fortnight since I sent you a certain draught. I now send you another, on the plan of incorporation. Whichever you may prefer, if there be any part to be changed, or if there be any material idea in your own draught which has happened to be omitted, and which you wish introduced,—in short, if there be anything further in the matter in which I can be of any service, I will with great pleasure obey your commands.

Very respectfully and affectionately, I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

To The President. A. Hamilton."

On the same date as the above Washington wrote Hamilton:

"The principal design of this letter is to inform you that your favor of the 30th ulto., with enclosure, got safely to my hands by the last post, and that the latter shall have the most attentive consideration I am able to give it. . ."

The enclosure referred to is plainly the original draft of Hamilton, prepared agreeably to the intimation of Washington in his letter of May 15, in which he gave him permission to form a new draft, if he so preferred. Hamilton, acting upon the suggestion to throw the whole into a new form, immediately began to prepare the new draft, because, as he said in his letter of July 30, the plan of amending and changing Washington's draft appeared less practicable.

Having examined Hamilton's draft, Washington wrote again from Philadelphia on August 25:

"I have given the paper herewith enclosed several serious and attentive readings, and prefer it greatly to the other draught, being more copious on material points, more dignified on the whole, and, with less egotism, of course less exposed to criticism. . .

I should have seen no occasion myself for its undergoing revision: but as your letter of 30th ulto. which accompanied it intimates a wish to do this, and knowing that it can be more correctly done after a writing has been out of sight for some time than while it is in hand, I send it in conformity thereto, with a request that you will return it as soon as you have carefully re-examined it, for it is my intention to hand it to the public before I leave this City. . .

I shall expunge all that is marked in the paper as unimportant, etc., and as you perceive some marginal notes written with a pencil, I pray you to give the sentiments so noticed mature consideration. After which, and in every other part, if

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change or alteration takes place in the draught, let them be clearly interlined or referred to in the margin, so that no mistake may happen in copying for the press."

One other letter was written by Washington to Hamilton, on September 1, requesting a clause to be inserted upon the subject of education. To which Hamilton replied on September 5, enclosing the draft with the educational clause inserted.

The foregoing extracts from letters of Washington, Madison, and Hamilton include all that is known to have passed between them throwing light upon the present inquiry.

A few changes, erasures, and interlineations were made by Washington after he had transcribed the draft as last received from Hamilton; and he delivered the Address to the nation, by publication in "Claypoole's Daily Advertiser," Philadelphia, September 19, 1796. It was received by the American people with an approbation worthy of both the heart that conceived and the talent that adorned it. The original, as it left the hand of Washington, is now in the Lenox Library, having been purchased by James Lenox from the administrator of David C. Claypoole.

The profound impression of the message had not vanished from the public mind when an unfortunate contention arose for the literary credit of it. The internal evidence favored the suspicion first whispered, that Washington was not the sole composer of it, the style being different from that of his well-known papers. This was after the death of Washington and Hamilton. Their great minds towered above such littleness as a rivalry for literary distinction in preparing a farewell address. Love of country was the inspiration of their labors in it: the integrity of the Union and the safeguarding of liberty were the warp and woof of their every interwoven thought and expression.

The contention between over-zealous partisans, however, was still on when there was discovered among the papers of Hamilton, in his own handwriting, what was supposed to be, and probably was, the original rough draft of the Address prepared by him, as above referred to in his letters of July 5 and 30. This was not the draft of Washington "re-dressed" by Hamilton, but the one prepared *de novo*, which Washington, in his letter of May 15, had suggested he might prefer to do, and which I have referred to as Hamilton's "original draft."

The claim that Hamilton was the author of the Address now became, on the part of some, so broad and all-inclusive as to convey the idea that the whole was his production—the matter as well as the expression and arrangement. The family of Hamilton also seems to

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have been impressed with the idea that it was chiefly his work and to have made some effort to give the fact publicity. In the "Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas More" (vol. 7, p. 195) occurs the following passage:

"Mr. Hamilton said that there was no longer any doubt of his father having been the writer of almost all of Washington's addresses, and gave me an autograph letter of Washington's to his father which tends a good deal to confirm this fact."

Mr. Rufus King, in a communication, dated September 14, 1825, to Judge Bushrod Washington, nephew, heir, and executor of Washington, informs him that he has in his possession letters and papers of Gen. Hamilton placed in his hands by Hamilton's executor; that among them is a letter from Gen. Washington to Hamilton respecting the Farewell Address; and that, upon his refusal to give them up, he had been judicially summoned by a bill in equity in the name of the widow and sons of Hamilton. He desired to know what he should do in the matter, as he believed Judge Washington, as the executor of his uncle, was entitled to the letter.

Judge Washington, replying on October 6, says:

"I do not consider, as executor of Gen. Washington or otherwise, I have the most remote right to interfere in the extraordinary suit of Mrs. Hamilton. I beg further to add, that if my right to the letter was incontestable I would not condescend to exercise it.

If Mrs. Hamilton, in claiming for Gen. Hamilton, through the medium of a court of justice or otherwise, the authorship of the Farewell Address (the validity of which claim is by no means admitted), supposes the establishment of the fact will do honor to his memory, I shall throw no impediment in her way. . ."

He adds:

"The letters of Gen. Washington have been gone over by Chief Justice Marshall and myself, and I have never at any time met with any letter or copy of a letter which could warrant the conclusion that Gen. Hamilton wrote the Farewell Address."

The effect of claiming the authorship for Hamilton was the reflection upon Washington that, in one of the last and most solemn acts of his public life, he had published, as the outpouring of his own heart, a valedictory address wholly the production of another; parading as it were in finery made to order, and of which he himself supplied no part, either of labor, material, or trimmings.

The mere hint of a procedure so much at variance with his ingenuous nature aroused the defenders of Washington's honor to enter in his behalf counter-claims equally exclusive and misleading. Assuming, erroneously, that the delivery of his Farewell Address was a personal

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rather than an official act, they insisted, without further inquiry, that it was quite impossible he would seek material aid in the preparation of it; and, ignoring evidence to the contrary, they minimized the services of Hamilton to that of a mere adviser. Truth, usually found in middle ground, will be discovered in this controversy also somewhere between the extremes of asseveration on either side. A fair analysis of the correspondence above quoted will establish proximately the parts performed by each contributor to that memorable paper; and the wonder will remain that a production so composite in structure, containing, as it does, the thought and expression of several writers, should be of such literary merit as to provoke a contention as to who was its author. The draft referred to as Hamilton's "original draft," the rough sketch of which was found among his papers, was the substantial basis of the general claim of authorship in Hamilton. To what extent was this draft original? Washington had sent him a draft, which was that first drawn by James Madison, amended by Washington, with various subjects added under "Hints and Heads of Topics." This he sent, after conversation in Philadelphia with Hamilton, and in response to Hamilton's letter of May 10. It was the paper he proposed Hamilton should "re-dress," and which Hamilton desired might be sent to him when "you have given it the body you mean it to have."

In sending this "body" of the address, Washington said:

> "Even if you should . . . throw the whole into a different form, let me request . . . that my draught may be returned to me . . . with such amendments and corrections as to render it as perfect as the formation is susceptible of."

And again: "If you form one anew, it will of course assume such shape as you may be disposed to give it, predicated upon the sentiments contained in the enclosed paper." The requisition Washington thus made upon the talents of Hamilton was, first, to "re-dress," amend, or curtail, an address the form or body of which he had himself prepared. Second, if he so elected, to form one anew, by throwing the whole into a different form. Two papers, therefore, were returned to Washington,—his own draft corrected upon the general plan of it, and the one formed anew by throwing the whole into a different form, predicated upon the sentiments expressed by himself.

The manner in which Hamilton discharged this latter task will fairly determine the fame to which he is entitled in the Farewell Address; for it was this paper which Washington preferred and accepted, being, as he said, "more copious on material points, more dignified on the whole, and, with less egotism, of course less exposed to criticism," and

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which, after further alterations by Washington and Hamilton, became the Farewell Address. Could the first draft by Madison, incorporated into Washington's draft, be compared, in adjacent columns, with the draft of Hamilton, it would be shown that Hamilton had made use of the introductory paragraphs of Madison with so little change as to leave them practically unaltered either in form, sentiment, or wording. Thus the dignity and grace of Madison's style became the pattern for the entire composition.

Although no claim seems to have been made for it, Madison has clearly a share with Hamilton in any honor arising from its literary merit. It is to Hamilton's credit that he used Madison's introductory, since it could hardly be improved upon; and this shows that he was not seeking fame for himself in rendering Washington the assistance requested.

If the inception of the address and the substance of it were Washington's, and the literary style was largely that of Madison, what was there in it, it may be asked, that was the distinctive work of Hamilton? While the draft prepared by Washington was more than a desultory enumeration of precepts, recommendations, and warnings, while it embodied his thought and feeling upon the subjects touched with some method, and in language dignified and forceful, it was not yet, in form and finish, such a paper as he intended his Farewell Address to be. It was for Hamilton to "form anew," to "re-dress," and "much at leisure, touch and retouch." His work was that of the lapidary upon the diamond. It was his to transform the draft of Washington, and to reproduce from it a luminous and unique gem which, as a public paper, should, as he said, "wear well, progress in approbation with time, and redound to future reputation." He brought to bear upon that labor the yearning of a patriotic heart and the vast resources of a trained and logical mind.

Knowing far better than Washington himself his peculiar status with the people, the fatherhood with which, in their hearts, they had invested him, Hamilton could far better appreciate what should be the character and latitude of a farewell address from him, on the eve of his retiring from his long, arduous, and epoch-making service. Therefore, in revising Washington's draft he expunged much that was merely personal and apologetic, and that alluded to questions which were connected only with his own administration, and of such a transitory nature as not likely again to be subjects of public concern.

Thus, by sagacious elimination, as well as by amendment and ampli-

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fication, Hamilton enlarged the sphere of its influence until it became not only a solemn valedictory, reviewing the past and prophetic of the future, but a message and warning to the American people, touching their liberty and safety, uttered for all time, and gathering force and application in its descent to remotest generations. He took the draft—the "body" he requested Washington to send him—and gave it an articulation and relation of parts which it did not before possess. He arranged it with a logical sequence that gave to the thoughts of Washington their fullest force and effect. This was the inimitable work of Hamilton, which it was the wisdom of Washington to secure, and the fame of which his grateful countrymen will ever award to Hamilton.

Authorship, in its restricted literary sense, is not a term properly applicable to the preparation of the Farewell Address, unless joint authorship be accredited to all who in any way participated in it. The thought and the expression of Washington, Madison, and Hamilton were singularly intermingled in it, besides some suggestions by Judge Jay, to whom, at Washington's request, it was on one occasion shown. But the *origin* of the Address was not in Madison, Hamilton, or Jay. Whatever their subsequent contributions may have been, the Address did not generate in either of them. It was conceived in the mind, and nurtured in the heart, of Washington. Not only did he conceive the intention and nurture the desire to deliver a parting message to his countrymen, but he selected and determined the subjects he intended to press upon their consideration. This is clear, not only from the correspondence referred to, but from another fact which makes it practically certain. Among the papers of Hamilton, discovered by his executor, was one endorsed, "Abstract of Points to form an Address." A careful comparison of this paper with the first draft by Washington will show that this abstract was made by Hamilton from that draft, there being not a subject among those enumerated in the "abstract" that was not first suggested and dwelt upon in Washington's draft.

In the building of St. Peter's at Rome, the design of Angelo prevailed; and, although the work of many masters before and after him are there in evidence, he is the accredited architect. The inception and design of the temple at Jerusalem were Solomon's; and the building was constructed under his supervision: but the timbers were prepared by the King of Tyre in the forests of Lebanon; and the decoration was the work of a Tyrian artificer, skilled in the art of ornamentation in metals, wood, and colors. Nevertheless, it was Solomon's temple; and all authorities, sacred and profane, attribute to him the building of it.

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Authorship is a term of more general and comprehensive meaning than that usually assigned to it in literature. Origination and invention are its attributes, in its larger and more general significance. The functions of an author in this sense, like those of architect or builder, are inceptive, creative, and supervisory, and so imply the use of subordinate agencies.

The relation of Washington to his Farewell Address has been shown to include all of these attributes of authorship, and more. Some of the finest expressions in the paper were exclusively his own; and, in several instances, the sentences of Hamilton were measurably improved by his interlineations or erasures.

There was no concealment, on Washington's part, of the contributions of Madison or Hamilton. In his draft sent to Hamilton he referred to the introductory of Madison as the "quoted part." And, again, he requested Hamilton to solicit the views of Mr. Jay, because, as he said,

"I am anxious always to compare the opinions of those in whom I confide with one another, and those again (without being bound by them) with my own, that I may extract all the good I can."

Great honor is due to Hamilton and Madison for eminent services in the preparation of the Farewell Address; but the evidence is conclusive that Washington was, in the only applicable sense of the term, the author of it.

BUSHROD C. WASHINGTON.

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THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT *VERSUS* THE NATION.

WHEN backward nations grow impatient of their slow progress, or mistrustful of its direction, they are apt to trick themselves out in an ill-assorted lot of political odds and ends borrowed *a priori* from the institutions of the neighbors whom they envy. The search for short cuts to goals that can seemingly be reached only by the slow processes of evolution and development almost invariably ends in disaster. Nations that have borrowed their institutions instead of making them, and have taken to themselves brand-new constitutions, cannot so successfully disguise their former selves but that a certain unevenness must be apparent. Like the African potentates of the comic newspapers, their fancy stops short at tail-coats in combination with firemen's helmets, and does not include the boots, shirts, and other matters which go to make up the costume as worn in the country of its origin. Confident that the same cause will be followed by the same effect, they neglect the distinctively human element. It is impossible to find in one country the exact circumstances that have made certain political forms suitable to another.

It was no overweening arrogance that led the French revolutionaries to date a new era from the promulgation of their doctrines. For France and for her Latin neighbors, east and west, the epoch was transcendently important. But while in France the soil was so prepared that the nation was in a condition to assimilate part at least of the ideas of its most advanced thinkers, these same ideas, as they crossed the Pyrenees, served but to cause confusion after the long lethargic sleep into which Spain had sunk since glory and empire fled her grasp. The provinces which had once enjoyed various forms of representative government had lost them for the most part; and the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people sounded strange to ears grown accustomed to receive the sharp commands of kings of foreign stock and their unworthy favorites.

Freedom could not at once take root on a soil overshadowed by the rank growth of absolutism and of the bastard and degenerate feudalism planted by the Bourbon kings. Even the most enlightened nations of Europe hardly yet understand to the full the powers conferred on them

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by the constitutions they have fought so hard to win. The less enlightened neither understand nor value them. They can be roused to revolution by the cry of oppression; but they have failed to lay hold of the substance, though they have pursued the shadow, of liberty. Constitutions have become a means of hoodwinking the people. The natural retort to oppression is revolution; and the Spanish people is still oppressed by a selfish oligarchy. Yet only the other day Emilio Castelar, the famous "tribune of the people," as his followers love to call him, repeated his declaration that the age for revolution is gone, because, forsooth, the right of the people to manage their own affairs is guaranteed on paper. It is all so simple that one little syllogism will prove it. Revolution is unjustifiable except as a means of securing political rights or good government; the political rights and good government of Spain are secured; therefore——Yet he would be a bold man who should say that the Spaniards are well governed, or that the majority manage the affairs or shape the policy of the nation. The value of the constitution as a safety-valve is well understood by the governing class.

At the root of Spain's misfortunes lie the shocking corruption of public life, political incapacity and sceptical indifference in the masses, with a consequent lack of organized public opinion. A broad line of separation has ever been drawn between public and private morality. Men, who will resent to the utmost the slightest suspicion of their private honor, will speak unblushingly of scandalous breaches of trust in public capacities, and treat public morality, or even common honesty in civic matters, as a myth; refusing to believe that, in this respect, other nations are happier than their own. It often happens that a man enters public life urged by patriotic motives, and not as a mere office-seeker. He soon reaches the turning-point of his career, and finds his way barred. If he will not accept bribes, he must at least give them, or remain forever an obscure faddist. When he reaches the top it is impossible for him to turn suddenly round, and discard and expose the gang which raised him to his position: to do so would be to kick away the ladder with the hope of remaining suspended in space.

That Spaniards not directly engaged in the political game are indifferent to their political privileges is proved by the apathy with which they submitted to the abolition of universal suffrage at the fall of the last republic. The Carlists, while bidding high for popular support, propose to put an end to "the miserable farce, or, rather, fatal tragedy," of representative government, as it now exists, by further limitation of the suffrage and by leaving to the Crown the nomination of one-third of their

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proposed parliament of three hundred members.[1] History gives some explanation of this indifference. The various provinces of which Spain is made up have never been thoroughly welded together. The Aragonese is an Aragonese still, and looks upon the Andalusian as a foreigner, though not, of course, in the same degree as a Frenchman, for instance. It would seem to be still impossible for Spaniards to sink their local jealousies and to coöperate heartily for a common cause. During the last civil war the Basque volunteers refused to march beyond their own province: it was sufficient for them that they had made the Pretender *señor* of Biscay, Alava, and Guipuzcoa. For Spain as a whole they cared little; and they allowed the Castilian levies that came to their aid to suffer hardships in the midst of abundance, looking upon them as foreign intruders.

Before the sixteenth century the larger half of Spain—the north, the east, and the centre—had developed forms of representative government. The political growth of these provinces was cut short by absolutism: they have not yet succeeded in merging their political sympathies in the larger whole of which they now form a part. The west and south have practically no political history. Since they were won back from the Moors they have always been governed from the outside, and, except for the larger towns where socialistic ideas have taken root, have no political leanings. Even Home Rule finds no echo in Andalusia and Estremadura. Centuries must pass before trunk and limbs so disparate, so long numbed by tyranny, can form a body politic well organized and sensitive, responsive in all its parts to one stimulus.

A still stronger bar to honest effort is the despair with which the many contemplate the choked and clogged state of the channels whereby public opinion should find its way to the Government and to realization. Though a large portion of the population is illiterate, it is (owing to the habit of living in villages and not in isolated houses or small hamlets) not ill-informed. Newspapers abound: each small town has two or three, representing different parties or opinions. They are eagerly read and discussed at the rival *casinos*, or clubs, that have almost everywhere taken the place of the barbers' and apothecaries' shops, once the centres of public life in the villages. It cannot be expected that the editors of these local papers, with a circulation of a few hundred copies, eked out by a small subsidy from the political party whose views they represent, should be men of wide culture or independent mind.

But Spaniards take naturally to journalism. Owing to the dread of manual labor, the half-educated abound; and the general level of ex-

[1] See "Catecismo del Carlista," por el PADRE CORBATÓ (1896), pp. 186, 231.

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cellence of the press is much higher than might be supposed. The Madrid press, notably in the department of foreign intelligence, compares not unfavorably with that of other capitals of the same importance. When France is deeply engaged in some purely French matter, no mention of foreign countries is allowed to call off attention from the one theme; whereas a fair general view of the position of the affairs of the world can be gathered from the "Imparcial," "Epoca," "Correo," and other leading Spanish journals.

It is in opposition that Spanish journalism attains its highest flights. The Government press, too well aware of the holes in its coat, maintains a tame and half-apologetic tone, in face of the thundering denunciations and eloquent appeals to which it is day by day subjected. It necessarily speaks in the name of a party; whereas the new-born organ of the smallest section of the opposition arraigns it in the name of the nation. The greater part of the press is in continual opposition, for the "Have Nots" are more than the "Haves"; but ministers can afford to smile at its taunts and challenges, its ardent desire for the amendment of its adversaries, and its noble and far-reaching schemes of reform. They have only to turn to the back files to show how far performance fell short of promise when the party now so public-spirited held the reins of government, only to look forward a year or two to see the same party—which has, maybe, secured a hearing for its schemes, and taken its seat at the ministerial desks with the best intentions—sink overwhelmed by the vast weight of vested interests ranged against it, or shrink appalled from touching some worm-eaten prop, lest the whole rotten structure should crash down in ruin on its head.

Industry and commerce languish amid the universal mistrust which has hitherto prevented the development of native joint-stock companies and industrial coöperation: they groan under the enormous and ill-defined fiscal burdens to which they are capriciously subjected. The most thriving class is that of the "budget-eaters." "Do ut des" is the motto of Spanish public life; empleomania is rife to a degree unknown elsewhere; and empleomania is the chief instrument of political corruption. The class from which members of the Lower House are chosen has seldom much private fortune wherewith to bribe electors. Its object, moreover, is only too often to increase, rather than to diminish, its worldly goods. It looks to office as the direct road to fortune, and must make it worth somebody's while to put it on the path. But if its pockets are shallow, those of the nation are deep; and to them it looks to pay itself and its supporters.

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Every department of the public service is crowded with useless and supernumerary functionaries replaced at each change of Government by a fresh hungry swarm. The loaves and fishes cannot be miraculously increased; so fresh posts are ever created, and the pension list is swollen to enormous proportions. In France the Government repays its supporters with bits of red ribbon: in Spain something more solid is expected. The minister must satisfy the deputies of his party; and the deputies must satisfy their electors. Though patronage may be shared as fairly as possible, there is always left a body of malcontents ready to join the opposition as soon as opportunity offers. This, it must be noted, is only when the ministry breaks up from the inside. Public opinion on public questions has, as will presently be shown, little enough to do with the election of parliaments. Once the ministry is formed, public opinion has no influence on its proceedings, except so far as it may affect its chance of return to power, or provoke a revolution. A ministry, if it chooses to run these risks, can go on governing so long as it holds together. Even when the constitutional term of its existence is reached, the machinery by which elections are worked still remains in its hands; and it is not possible that the carefully prepared and weeded electoral soil should produce other than a crop of ministerial supporters.

The present Government, though not directly responsible for the late war, is associated with the humiliation of Spain. It has, moreover, incurred the odium of all but a small portion of the press by a rigorous censorship and by the suspension of the constitution. A ministry so placed would elsewhere have been driven by public opinion into retirement. For a moment it did seem threatened from the inside; but at present it seems impossible to bring to bear effectually upon it the odium it has incurred. The newspapers have dropped their threats, and are attempting to *persuade* Señor Sagasta that he has forfeited the confidence of the Crown, and is face to face with a crisis in his own cabinet. The "Imparcial" (January 9, 1899) reasons with him thus:

> "So too the question of confidence necessarily arises in circumstances like the present; for we must find out if the mind of the Crown is in unison with that of the nation. . . The crisis does exist, because the necessities of public life demand that it should be so. The question of confidence presses, because the state of public affairs and public opinion requires it."

We can hardly wonder that Señor Sagasta refuses to accept such reasoning. He waits to be turned out of office; and nobody is able to turn him out. He is the truest and most tried friend of the dynasty; and only when he and the Queen decide that his continuance in power

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is dangerous, will the royal "confidence" be withdrawn from him. Hence arises the special danger of the monarchy in Spain. It is forced to exercise a power greater than that recognized by the constitution; and according to the opportuneness of its intervention it must stand or fall. The majority in the Chambers is safe: it is the creation of the ministry and can be depended on. Something serious happens, and the action of the ministry is seriously arraigned. The Chambers will of course refuse to condemn it; so it is left to the Crown to condemn or absolve. The Sovereign consults impartially leaders of all opinions: but the responsibility for the decision reached finally rests with the Crown; and the anti-monarchical parties are ever ready to take advantage of its mistakes.

To fix the exact moment at which a change of ministry has become necessary, presupposes the exquisite tact and knowledge of the game expected of the president of a bull-fight. Even when these are present, there will always be some to yell their conviction that the bull, or minister, could have managed another charge, or has received a thrust too many, before the bugle sounds for his dismissal. A serious blunder either way: inability to distinguish between the noisy few and the knowing many, an over-readiness to be led by outcry, or neglect of a warning symptom, may bring disaster upon the blunderer. When Señor Sagasta puts into the Queen's hands the resignation of his cabinet, she must either give him a commission to patch it up by discarding a few unpopular members and introducing new blood, or must call upon the Silvela-Polavieja combination to take his place. In either case, her mandate will carry with it the power of securing a majority in the Cortes by official pressure. The appeal to the country will be a hollow sham, as it was when, in 1863, the Progressive party addressed a Letter to the Nation in which the following passage occurred:

"Nowadays it [the electoral system] has become a ridiculous make-believe, real only in its evil effects on the morals and administration of the country, the excessive and burdensome bribes it entails, the abuse of justice at which it connives, and the disturbances to which it gives rise. Such are its results. But what should we think could we view the interior of the maze in which the great plot is forged and every spring of the executive [honest indignation seems to have mixed the metaphor] is strained to falsify and misrepresent the will of the nation, suiting it to the caprice of its rulers? To them it is owing that all Spaniards, politically speaking, vote the condemnation of their opponents, and provide a unanimous parliament which they may use as they think fit. But next day another party makes itself master of the machine, the nation eats its own words and undoes its own work, and the voting urns proclaim with equal solemnity the damnation of the late Chief Engineer."

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Thus are truths admitted, perhaps even exaggerated, by politicians in opposition. Nine years later, however (1872), we find that Señor Sagasta, who had a large share in framing the above indignant protest, was unable to refute a charge brought against his Government of having illegally spent public money on securing the success of his own party at an election.

If the voice of public opinion reaches the Throne, it is not through a parliament whose interest it generally is to stifle it. The proof is not far to seek. Last November the local Spanish Chambers of Commerce held a general assembly at Saragossa to review the position of the country and to discuss their common interests. The assembly expressly disclaimed any revolutionary intentions; but, instead of petitioning or trying to influence Parliament, it addressed its message directly to the Throne, in the full knowledge that it was useless to try to work by the ordinary means of the representative system guaranteed by the constitution. This message is noteworthy; for it explains why an influential assembly of important corporations despaired of being able to attain its ends through Parliament:

"We hold it absolutely indispensable that the right of voting be reorganized on the basis of guilds and classes (*gremios y clases*), in order that guarantees for its effective exercise may be forthcoming, that an end may be put once for all to systematic misrepresentation of the will of the nation, that the fabrication of majorities and oppositions, not at the hustings, but in the ministerial offices, may cease, so that, when the stream of sound opinion is again felt in public affairs, the great social forces may occupy in Parliament the place from which they have been ousted by imaginary electors."

Bad indeed must be the state of affairs when the whole commercial interest of the nation finds it necessary to forward such a petition, and to accompany it with the half-veiled threat "to maintain with firmness and constancy its aspirations, and to persevere in the struggle, till the point is reached where the necessity for further effort ceases to exist." The signatories, be it observed, demand only a few reforms so obviously necessary that to refuse them is to declare openly for corruption against honesty. Yet one party has bidden the Chambers of Commerce leave politics to politicians; the others affect to ignore them; and it is to be doubted if their objects can be attained by anything short of a revolution.

The difficulty of inflicting a wound upon a ministry triple armored, as has been described, can barely excuse the hideous weapons used against it. The worst motives are publicly ascribed to political opponents; and accusations are hurled in the heat of debate which, if true, should be brought before a criminal court. But the accuser does not believe, nor

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the accused trouble to refute, them. Last September, when the utter breakdown of fleets and armies became apparent, feeling for a time waxed very high. Criminal negligence and even worse was thundered by patriotic orators; and the newspapers were deceived into taking the mimic battle for a real one. They waxed indignant, therefore, when accusers and accused were found resting side by side in the lobbies of the House, laughing over hard hits given and received amid congratulations on the brilliant display of oratorical fireworks.

This reckless bringing of false charges makes it very difficult to get a hearing for real ones. Three years ago the Marques de Cabriñana brought to light the grossest peculation in the municipal government of Madrid. At first, feeling was so strong against him that he was almost crushed; then an attempt was made to laugh him down as a faddist (*un loco*); and his name was greeted with shouts of derision at the theatres. However, he stood his ground valiantly, and at last had the satisfaction of seeing two scapegoats go forth to expiate the sins of the people, and this only after enormous efforts in a perfectly plain and specially scandalous matter.

In order to attract a jaded public it is necessary to use the most startling colors. When all politicians are distrusted, it is necessary, in order to get up some feeling against an opponent, to declare him guilty—in intention if not in deed—of breaches of the whole Decalogue. Spanish political morals leave much to be desired; but the originals of the fancy portraits painted by the excited imagination of their would-be supplanters can happily afford to laugh at them.

What has been said above partly explains the position of the Freelances. These are they who have split off from the two great parties, and make war on Government and opposition alike until their mouths are stopped with ministerial portfolios. The oldest existing group of the kind—for, of course, the Republican and Carlist minorities must not be classed among them—is that ranged under the banner of Señor Romero Robledo, once a member of Canovas's cabinet. Nobody quite knows what Romero Robledo's views are; for the fact that he was once a Conservative commits him to nothing. What is quite certain is, that he has a well-drilled though small band of followers who can secure their election to the Chamber in spite of the Government, and may thus, at a given moment, be able to turn a majority into a minority, or *vice versa*. The consequence is that Romero Robledo is a person of no small importance. He quarrelled with Canovas; and Canovas was obliged to come to terms with him, just as formerly O'Donnell had been obliged to come

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to terms with Canovas after refusing him the post which he claimed in the ministry. For the present, Romero's band has taken no service; and its captain is deliberating whether he would increase or diminish his chances of honor and profit by uniting his forces to those of the turbulent Gen. Weyler.

Another independent party, of a similar kind, but of more definite views, is led by Polavieja, the general who set out with blessings for the Philippine Islands, and returned with curses to Spain. He then raised the standard of retrenchment and reform at home, openly claiming the first place in the ministry he hoped to form. But recruits came slowly; and at the next parliamentary transformation-scene he will be found—perhaps as Minister of War—among Señor Silvela's party. Señor Sagasta's chance of continuing in office is said to depend on his ability to come to terms with Romero Robledo and Weyler's famished squadrons, or at any rate to prevent them from joining the enemy.

That which distinguishes these groups is the purely personal nature of the tie that binds them to their leaders. A follower of Romero is called a *Romerista*, not necessarily connoting a common political doctrine, but only that the follower has vowed a momentary personal allegiance to the chief: he has backed a horse and stands to lose or win. If this one fail him, he may put his money on another at the next meeting.

When a ministry becomes weak through the desertion of its members, each of whom carries with him his personal following in the House, it must resign or bring in fresh blood. Its leader then goes down among the "independent" groups as into an open market; and the vendors are all agog praising their wares. Its price is the adoption—for decency's sake—of some items of a programme, and a certain number of comfortable berths for those who have long languished in opposition. It is the buyer's place to decide how much he can afford without undue interference with the claims and interests of those who have hitherto supported him. When he has enough, he will take no more at any price: it would be mere waste of good patronage. The vendors shut up shop until another cabinet crisis gives a market value to what they have for sale. If no bargain is struck, the ministry falls.

The means by which the return of Government candidates is secured at elections are various. In desperate cases they are sometimes violent. An instance is quoted in which it was found necessary to bring about the fall of the floor of the room in which the election was held, in order that, during the confusion and flight of the opposition overseers, the

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voting-urns might be changed for others held in readiness. Many are the miracles of electioneering times. The dead vote with the living; the absent, with those who are present, and always on the right side—they are Ministerialists to a man. Those whose opinions are known to be safe need trouble little about qualifications; even beggars may at times exercise privileges which harsh laws have denied to them; but known opponents and doubtful persons are subjected to rigid scrutiny. The first precaution taken is to secure a trusty body of overseers, whose duty it is to watch over the purity of elections. On them the election depends, so no efforts are spared to ensure their right thinking; and, if the result is as required, they need fear no enquiry into their methods.

The means by which pressure is brought to bear is the system known as *caciquismo*. A *cacique* was an Indian chief who, under Spanish rule, became the native headman of his village, the spy and tool of the Government, and the agent through whom the odious *repartimientos* and other forms of oppression were carried out. So now, the village *cacique* is the agent (generally self-constituted and unacknowledged) of a party, backed by all the forces of the executive, and rewarded according to the extent of his unavowable services. His position—often that of a small landowner or employer of labor—gives him command of a certain number of votes. But beyond this he has many means of influencing his neighbors. First, there is the direct patronage of the Government,—the numberless small offices, with facilities for peculation, by which local administration is cumbered. For these it is useless to apply without the good word of the *cacique*. Then there is the administration of justice, civil and criminal. Water-rights, for instance, are a continual source of litigation between neighboring villages and landowners. They often depend on immemorial usage. The *cacique* can find means to hasten the law's delay, or knows where to find a document that may bring ruin or plenty to a village.

Criminal justice is not corrupt; but it is undermined by pardons. *Juan Palomares*, the son of the *cacique's* neighbor, let us say, has stabbed his adversary in a quarrel and has been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. The father, a man of some influence, appeals to *Don Fulano de Tal*, the *cacique*. A year or so passes, and the hubbub in the village has somewhat subsided, when young *Juan Palomares* is found going about his usual business. The *cacique* has whispered a word to the deputy, whose vote is useful to the ministry; the humble petition of *Juan Palomares*, now lying in chains, has been placed upon the cushion on which the Queen kneels at a great festival; and the trick is played.

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The *cacique*, too, can manage to free the *quinto*, or conscript, cast for military service, and this without payment of substitute as the law directs. He is simply entered as blind or lame, though, in fact, a strapping fellow. This was a strong lever during the dreadful Cuban War.

But more important, because more universal, than the above-mentioned means of pressure is that afforded by taxation. The taxes as paid are enormous: if the nominal amount were exacted, they would be ruinous. Many districts are taxed on less than a third of their actual cultivated area. If a village, or an individual, incur the wrath of the Government, the tax-gatherer can inflict condign punishment. It is not to be wondered at that the petition of the Chambers of Commerce above quoted contains an uncomplimentary reference to the *cacique:*

"As a necessary consequence of the reforms here demanded the disgraceful system of *caciquismo* by which Spain is oppressed and rendered abject will fall before the power of a regenerate Government amid the execration of all good men."

In view of the elaborate apparatus for securing votes and stifling public opinion, it is hardly too much to say that the opposition exists only on sufferance. The Government is accused, as I have said, of making fictitious oppositions as well as fictitious majorities. The pretence must be kept up; and an opposition of about one-third is considered a decent proportion. The matter presents no difficulty. First of all, there are certain unruly districts in which political opinion has really a meaning. Take Catalonia, for instance. Here it would be dangerous for the Government to interfere. So these wrong-headed people are allowed to vote as they like; and the rewards of submissiveness are kept for those who better appreciate them. It would be absurd for everybody to establish a claim on the gratitude of the party in power; so, while ministers are safe, a few Republicans and Carlists are allowed to be elected in permanent and hopeless minority. These, together with a certain number of really independent men (wealthy landowners for the most part), the representatives of districts that have a grudge against the Government because of unfulfilled promises on local matters, the leaders and some of the rank and file of the great opposition party, Liberal or Conservative, provide a fine if somewhat heterogeneous fighting-force to maintain the oratorical battles for which the Cortes are justly famed. A chance of a parliamentary victory of course sets the members of such an opposition flying at each other's throats.

Spain's upper class is made up of the bearers of some of the noblest names in Europe, together with a certain number of rich folk of humbler origin. By aping foreign manners it has lost its native virtues. Its

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watchword is frivolity; and its home is Madrid, where it exhibits a pale copy of the "society" of Paris and London. The influence derived from its wealth is used to evade its share of the national burdens and to secure underling positions in Conservative cabinets for the more brilliant of its members. Next come the professional and commercial classes. From the former spring some great lawyers and scholars, the politicians, and the great army of place-hunters. Commerce produces a few merchant princes and rich bankers, who speedily migrate to the class above. The weakness of this middle class lies in the utter lack of ideal: it is inferior in culture and refinement to the equivalent class elsewhere.

It has been said that the Spaniard is spoiled when he changes his jacket for a black coat. This is a harsh saying; but it is partly true. The Spanish virtues, bravery, hardihood, sobriety, patience, and an honesty somewhat different from and occasionally higher than the ordinary commercial form, find their best exponents among the lower orders, and chiefly in the country population. This class forms a sound and solid backbone capable of supporting the proudest nation; but it lacks leaders, organization, and cohesion. Its ignorance leaves it helpless in the hands of its social superiors, who neglect or betray its interests. It has yet to find out some way of exacting responsibilities less ruinous than revolution. Careless of forms of government, and of the nominal rights of citizenship which have been thrust upon it by demagogues, it distrusts political programmes; it is too ignorant and indifferent to contrast or originate policies; and it must find a leader whom it can trust, and follow him.

A critic of the late Canovas del Castillo, in the "Journal des Débats" of August 11, 1897, declared that Canovas' chief merit was to have introduced into Spain

> "the outward show of a parliamentary system. Failing public opinion to curb and direct individual ambition, he attempted to supply its place by two severely disciplined parties, succeeding one another at regular intervals."

If this was Canovas's only claim on the gratitude of his country, his reputation as a statesman was utterly undeserved. The system has failed miserably; there is no guarantee that the "two severely disciplined parties" will play the sham game according to the rules; nor is there anything to prevent a less "severely disciplined" party from taking advantage of a deadlock.

H. BUTLER CLARKE.

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THE FOUNDATION OF SCIENCE.

SCIENCE is becoming the key-note of modern life. When the Briton chants the glories of the Victorian era, he dwells on the advances of science nearly as long as on the colonial conquests which threescore years of scientific applications have made possible. In even larger measure than Britain, America has become a nation of science; education is directed, every important industry is shaped, and a good part of statecraft is regulated, by science; the literature of the day is invaded by science in the form of serious contributions by investigators as well as in that of loose straws of scientific detail and motive in romance; while the ephemeral press bristles with science and pseudo-science. In view of the present prominence of science, it is well worth while to look into the origin and fundamental character of that portion of human knowledge which has come to be so designated. The inquiry is made timely by the recent appearance of an epistemology, or theory of knowledge[1]; and it may perhaps be best conducted by comparing this work with that earlier one which has long ranked as the classic of science. When the substance of a book has gone into the dictionaries and primers and kindergartens, the time has gone by for reviewing it; but it is not too late to note certain essential features of the "Novum Organum," to show the relation between the two.

I.

"Man, as the minister and interpreter of nature, does and understands as much as his observations on the order of nature, either with regard to things or the mind, permit him, and neither knows nor is capable of more."

Thus thought Francis of Verulam, better known as Lord Bacon, three centuries ago; and thus—save for the limitations of rendering from a decadent language—he indited the leading aphorism in his "Novum Organum." In this and one hundred and twenty-nine succeeding aphorisms, Bacon laid down the principles of "The Interpretation of Nature

[1] "Truth and Error, or the Science of Intellection." By J. W. POWELL. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1898.

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and the Empire of Man" according to his lights, and with a luminous foreknowledge that only glows the brighter as the centuries pass.

In writing the "Novum Organum," Bacon essayed to develop a system of knowledge so comprehensive as to serve the needs of all men for all time; *i.e.*, he sought to frame a universal and perpetual principia. This work is but a fragment of one of the most ambitious literary undertakings of history, the "Great Instauration," or restoration of learning, itself one of many writings; yet it is the gem of a literary diadem whose scintillations are caught in all later literature, and which has put Bacon's name in the vocabularies of all civilized languages.

The "Novum Organum" comprises two books. It is in the first of these that the Baconian principles are laid down; while the second, "The Interpretation of Nature, or the Reign of Man" is devoted to applications of these principles. The fifty-two aphorisms of the second book are less trenchant than those of the initial series, and reflect the imperfect observations of the times. They indicate, too, that the author was neither a practical man nor a skilled observer so much as a "closet student" (in the scornful phrase of Bacon's own disciples two centuries after his death); and their crudeness, brought out the more clearly as the habit of observation grew, temporarily dimmed the lustre of Bacon's achievements, and condemned the principles embodied in the earlier aphorisms.

Even the first book is marred, in the estimation of moderns, by stilted phrase and besetting adoration of royalty, and still more by a chain of allegory binding half the aphorisms; though in good sooth these are but the builder's scaffolds, half concealing the architect's design, which served timely purpose but which may now be removed. When the latter is done, the intellectual structure of the "Novum Organum" stands forth in marvellous perfection,—a firm foundation for the knowledge developed during that Era of Science whose beginning it marked. In the light of three centuries later, other portions of the "Instauratio Magna" may seem but a phantom, the second book of the "Novum Organum" a blunder, and the mannerism of the first book a blemish; yet the fact remains that the system set forth in this first book is the basis of modern science, of current education, and of the present progress of individuals and nations. During each generation the masters have formulated the principles and methods of science; yet there is no more widely accepted principia in existence to-day than that formulated in the aphorisms of the "Novum Organum." William Shakespeare and Francis Bacon were twin luminaries of our mental cosmos, one shining on the emotional, and the other on the intellectual, side of life; and it would be difficult to

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say which has exerted the greater influence on humanity. Certainly there lives no man or woman or child in any civilized or enlightened land who has not been reached by direct or indirect rays from both luminaries.

Beginning with the prefatory aphorism quoted above, Bacon proceeded to point out the limitations of the "Organon" of Aristotle; next he sought to analyze mental operations, deprecating the defective (under such fanciful terms as Idols of the Tribe, Idols of the Market, and Idols of the Theatre) and defining the direct and simple; then he traced mental impressions to their sources in experience [1]; and he ended by enouncing the natural method of acquiring knowledge, *i.e.*, the interpretation of nature in terms of known facts and spontaneous mental action.[2]

Throughout, the mode of reasoning from particulars to generals, or of leading the mind from the definite and certain toward points at which definiteness and certitude are required, was advocated and pursued so conspicuously that later students have come to regard it as the distinguishing feature of Bacon's organon, and have styled it the Baconian method. Some, indeed, have assumed that the method was invented by Bacon. But Bacon's own writings show that he did not (at least up to the time of writing the "Organum") regard himself as the *inventor* of the inductive method, or of any other novel methods of thinking, but

[1] "APHORISM C. We must not only search for, and procure a greater number of experiments, but also introduce a completely different method, order, and progress of continuing and promoting experience. For vague and arbitrary experience is (as we have observed) mere groping in the dark, and rather astonishes than instructs. But when experience shall proceed regularly and uninterruptedly by a determined rule, we may entertain better hopes of the sciences."

[2] "APHORISM CXXX. But it is time for us to lay down the art of interpreting nature, to which we attribute no absolute necessity (as if nothing could be done without it) nor perfection, although we think that our precepts are most useful and correct. For we are of opinion, that if men had at their command a proper history of nature and experience, and would apply themselves steadily to it, and could bind themselves to two things: 1, to lay aside received opinions and notions; 2, to restrain themselves, till the proper season, from generalization, they might, by the proper and genuine exertion of their minds, fall into our way of interpretation without the aid of any art. For interpretation is the true and natural act of the mind, when all obstacles are removed: certainly, however, everything will be more ready and better fixed by our precepts.

Yet we do not affirm that no addition can be made to them; on the contrary, considering the mind in its connection with things, and not merely relatively to its own powers, we ought to be persuaded that the art of invention can be made to grow with the inventions themselves."

(The quotations are from the edition edited by JOSEPH DEVEY, and published in Bohn's Philosophical Library, London, 1858.)

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only as a discoverer of the natural order of thought spontaneously pursued by minds untrammelled by scholasticism and other "idols"; while modern psychology indicates that inductive processes of thinking are old as the human mind, though the last to be detected by the thinkers themselves. So Bacon cannot be credited with the discovery of a new mental faculty, although he is entitled to even higher credit for not only recognizing the true course of thought, but inventing a compass whereby the course may be followed and its trend foreseen.

The extraordinary merit of Bacon's recognition and application of the inductive method has been signalized by a dozen generations of thinkers, and still stands beyond question; but it may be questioned whether this is the greatest merit of the "Novum Organum." Scrutiny of the principal portions of the "Instauratio Magna," and especially of the first series of aphorisms in the "Organum," shows that their writer held a unique point of view, of such sort as to afford the best possible outlook over the field of knowledge,—a view-point of such sort, too, that he could not fail to detect the inductive method of thinking as an incidental feature in his panorama of human knowledge. For, with unprecedented *naïveté* and unsurpassed power of eliminating the irrelevant, Bacon divested himself of the mysticism of the ages, and looked on the human mind, for the first time in the history of the human genus, as a reflex of nature. True, Francis of Verulam, like all of his contemporaries, wore an outer garb of reverence for royalty and an inner garment of adoration for divinity; but, in the seclusion of that chamber of later travail in which his epoch-marking works were brought forth, these habiliments fell away, and he saw knowledge bare of conventional concealments as nature herself. Then it was that he was able to write: "Man . . . does and understands as much as his observations on the order of nature, either with regard to things or the mind, permit him, and neither knows nor is capable of more." During all the years since Bacon, mysticism has been fading; yet even to-day it is but the millionth man and the thousandth thinker who has reached, and is content to rest on, this nakedly simple platform of science.

In Bacon's view, the mind was the mirror of nature; and, contenting himself with that view, he saw more of both nature and mind than any contemporary or any successor for centuries. For even his immortal compatriot, Shakespeare, merely mirrored human nature as Bacon saw all nature on larger scale. To Bacon, the human mind must have appeared a cosmos in miniature; reflecting more and more clearly, as vision sharpened with continued observation, the grand cosmos without,

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with thought as the interaction of the two; and, seeing both nature and mind in single view, he was able to adjust the one to the other with incomparable delicacy. This, then, would seem to be the supreme merit of the "Novum Organum": Bacon saw nature as clearly as his contemporaries, and at the same time saw mind more clearly than others because he saw it through nature; and, by fitting this to that, he was able to see both more clearly than any other of his era. True, Bacon's postulate in his first aphorism may be an error; but, if so, knowledge is vanity, its pursuit a weariness to the flesh, the mind a chaos, invention a delusion, and the progress of three centuries a lie.

After Bacon came other leaders, who pictured nature in terms of the mind, or the mind in terms of nature. Newton framed a "Principia" which trains the mind to follow certain processes of nature; Humboldt constructed a literary "Kosmos" in imitation of nature; Kant, Hegel, and Schopenhauer limned nature as a mental picture; Spencer wrote a synthetic philosophy in which nature and mind were brought into a single view, yet effectually sundered by his own bar of unknowability; while psychologists are now interpreting mental operations in terms of natural process. Yet few—surprisingly few, in view of the marvellous success attending Bacon's essay—have attempted to combine nature and mind in single treatment. Indeed, it has remained for this end of the third century since Bacon to produce a second essay along the lines laid down in the "Novum Organum,"—a second attempt to see nature and mind in single view, and thus to simplify both.

II.

Born in 1834, John Wesley Powell was, even in youth, an investigator in and teacher of natural history: soon after, he was the leading spirit in a State natural history society, conducting original researches in both zoölogy and botany. The Civil War came at his most susceptible age; and he was one of those vigorous patriots whose powers were inspired and lifted to higher planes by the shock. Throughout the war, he was botanist, zoölogist, geologist, as well as soldier, and withal a classicist and philosopher ever comparing modern warfare with ancient, and finding intuitive satisfaction in the study of men and animals under the supreme stress of mortal strife; his plastic brain receiving deep and permanent impressions.

Peace brought resumption of scientific research, with special work in botany. Geologic exploration—the most noteworthy in the country

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—followed, and grew into systematic researches; and for nearly twenty years the scientist-soldier was the head of the greatest geologic bureau in the world, shaping the scientific work as well as the administrative policy, constantly inspiring a corps of collaborators by gifts from his own store of knowledge, and leading a revolution in the science. While in official geological work, he inaugurated researches in terrestrial physics and in the chemistry of rocks, as adjuncts to the primary investigations, and mastered the principles of the two sciences sufficiently to direct the operations and apply the results in comprehensive fashion.

Coming in contact with aboriginal tribesmen in his earlier explorations, he began systematic observation, which matured in contributions of the first magnitude to the great science of anthropology, and indeed to a reorganization of the Science of Man even more complete than the revolution concurrently wrought in the Science of the Earth; and since 1879 he has had charge of the Bureau of American Ethnology, the leading official ethnologic bureau in the world. The early association with the Indians led him to give special attention to their peculiar mental operations, particularly their modes of reasoning and metaphysical notions; and throughout nearly all of its history the operations of our Bureau of Ethnology have been founded on characteristics of the primitive mind recognized and defined by its head.

From the days of his earliest teaching, throughout the period of antebellum investigation, at intervals in war-time, and during the whole of later life, he has been a critical student of philosophic subjects; delving in the lore of the ancients, tracing the course of intellectual development, going to the roots of metaphysical systems through the study of both books and disciples, and eventually gaining intimate acquaintance with both metaphysical and physical systems of philosophy.

Though apparently hindered, these studies were really helped, by contact with men throughout a busy administrative life, and by study of the workings of the minds of statesmen, of average citizens, and of scholars. Finally, with the renaissance of psychology, he undertook special studies of the products of psychologic laboratories, placed himself in touch with divers investigators, and began coördinating their results with the fruits of his own original researches in half a dozen fields of knowledge. Now, after assimilating his vast material, he essays to unite the sciences and to outline the bases of knowledge in a single system. His essay—summing the life-work of a student in zoölogy, a specialist in botany, a leader in geology, a master in anthropology, one of the very few students of philosophy in each of the four culture

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stages (savagery, barbarism, civilization, and enlightenment), and a broad worker in physics and chemistry and psychology—now stands at the bar of public judgment. It comes up as no petty plaintiff. If in the wrong, it is a colossal blunder: if in the right, it is a new organon.

A book already condensed by years of synthesis and repeated revision cannot be summarized; but a few of its more salient features may be noted.

1. Perceiving that knowledge of nature is shaped by mental faculty no less than by the facts themselves, and at the same time regarding the mind as the reflex of nature, Powell takes the precise point of view held by Bacon three centuries ago, but since unoccupied, at least for purposes of general survey. Accordingly, the essay is a joint inquiry into the nature of the human mind and into the nature of the external universe, and is an effort to fit the one to the other by mutual adjustment in the full light of both. There is no effort to sap the Baconian foundation, no appeal to the mystic unknowable which has handicapped precise thought from the beginning, no ignoring of any mental faculty or any external fact, but only a naïve and simple attempt to discover and depict mind and nature as they are, and especially as they stand toward each other. Powell, by reason of his unique view-point, enjoys a clearer and more extended vision than would be possible from any low or one-sided station. The novel features in the essay represent discoveries made by reason of the resumption of the Baconian foundation in the light of enlarged knowledge both of nature and of mind.

2. Accepting the conservation of energy,—one of the pillars of modern science,—Powell simplifies the doctrine and at the same time amplifies it materially. Hitherto matter and energy have been deemed antithetic (at least in large measure), and matter has been held to persist in the ultimate atom; while energy has been supposed to persist only in the cosmos as a whole, and to be changeable in form and constantly interchanging in place among the particles and larger bodies composing the cosmos.

To some minds this conception has always been incongruous, since it involves the assumption of measurement where measurement is impossible: for the bounds of the universe have not been laid down; and, without knowledge of these bounds, no one can compute either the quantity of energy or its rate of ebb and flow. Powell removes the incongruity by uniting matter and its movements in thought as they are united concretely in all human experience, and assuming that energy, like matter, persists in the particle; and the conception is further sim-

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plified by reducing all forms of energy to motion of invariable quantity but ever-changing direction. This rendering of the law of the persistence of motion, if valid, marks an intellectual advance of prime importance; for it tends at once to explain progress in the conquest of nature, and to open the way for immeasurably greater conquest in the future: it reduces earth and sun to illimitable sources of power requiring nothing but redirection by human genius to render them subservient to human welfare.

Although apparently revolutionary, the new conception is in accord with the recent trend of all lines of knowledge. Suggested by the chemists' formula known as the Law of Avogadro, the conception was tested first by the special researches in physics conducted in the laboratory of the Geological Survey, and afterward by the great facts of geology. Still later it was observed that the conception is in harmony, not merely with the facts of laboratory experimentation, but with the sum of experience; and recently it has been noted [1] that every epochal advance in science has been in the direction of dynamic interpretation, *i.e.*, that each broader interpretation gives fuller recognition to the motion or force inherent in the matter with which the interpretation deals. Latterly the progress of science has seemed hardly consistent with the essentially convergent lines of human advance traced by anthropologists, in that science has appeared to diverge constantly toward specialties; but, in the light of Powell's law of motion, the main lines of interpretation are seen to be convergent despite the diversification of research; and, *vice versa*, the convergence of interpretation tends to confirm the law.

3. Accepting the observed unity of matter and motion, Powell is able to escape that besetting dualism which has clung to the human mind since the sylvan savage first noted front and rear, or this side and that side,—a crude observation that set inference at work and grew into recognition of the four quarters and the middle, and still later into the cult of the six points and the self, and the faith in seven heavens. Freed from this wearisome pilgrim-load, he is able to eliminate a train of derivative burdens borne on the minds of men, and to rectify mental operations by more direct adjustment to the facts of intelligent experience.

4. Analyzing the aspects of nature and mind in accordance with his law of the persistence of motion, Powell is led to consider con-

[1] By the present writer, in "Fifty Years of American Science," in "The Atlantic Monthly" for September, 1898.

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sciousness [1] inherent in the ultimate particle as one of its essential properties; and he infers that this potential consciousness pervading all nature becomes effective in organized matter, reaching its higher powers and manifestations only in the most highly organized portions of the highest organisms. Although not wholly novel, this conception is put forth in new terms, and in the light of exceptional technical knowledge of nature and of the results of psychologic research. Bacon saw mind as the reflex of nature, colored and distorted by the "idols" of current thinking, but made no serious attempt to trace the development of either. Powell, too, sees nature and mind in single view as the real sides of knowledge, and, having the advantage of Bacon in standing on the rock-hewn steps of later experience, not only scans the course of development in nature, but traces the origin and development of mind itself as the noblest of nature's attributes.

5. Discarding dualism, conjoining matter and motion, and seeing in the germ of consciousness a primary property of the cosmos, Powell pictures nature as fivefold, or "pentalogic," in conformity with ultimate concepts of the mind and ultimate categories of facts to which, he believes, knowledge is reducible, *i.e.*, concepts and categories beyond which he is unable to reduce either mind or nature without reaching chaos. His primary properties are Number or Unity (perhaps *Integrality* might better express the idea), Extension, Motion, Duration, and Consciousness, or Proto-consciousness. These are conceived as blent and compounded to form the multifarious and protean phenomena of nature; and all the properties, primary and derivative, are conceived as duplicated (with more or less distortion) in mental reflexes, which are classed as qualities. It is through steady discrimination of the properties inhering in nature and the qualities reflected therefrom in the mind that Powell is able to retain the Baconian view-point, despite the modern multiplication of knowledge.

At first sight, the quinary arrangement of chapters and sections and paragraphs to which the pentalogic system gives rise conveys an artificial, not to say repellent, air to the entire work; but, on comparison with other philosophies of the several culture stages, this feature is found rather to promise strength and permanence than to betoken weakness. Each culture stage has its system or systems of philosophy; in each stage the philosophy is more definite and at the same time more

[1] Using the term in a highly restricted sense because no better offers. "Awareness" has been employed in the same sense. Perhaps *proto-consciousness* might be better.

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comprehensive than in the preceding stage; yet in each stage, from that of savagery to the highest, every system of philosophy is in the last analysis (as seen from the Baconian view-point) but an intellectual mechanism for interpreting nature, *i.e.*, for conforming mind and nature.

Now all philosophies have numerical elements. Some are monistic, most are dualistic, others are triadic, and not a few are septimal in greater or less measure; yet, after the first throes of acceptance, the adherents of each usually assimilate the number as a commonplace and take little conscious note of its constant influence on their mental workings. The most persistent of the cult numbers is two. It arises in the lowest savagery known to the ethnologist; it crops out in every cult of savagery and barbarism and civilization, as the antithesis of good and evil and in other ways; it pervaded the budding science of Mediterranean shores, shaping the bifurcate classification of Aristotle and the Tree of Porphyry; and it persists in modern science in the current antithesis of matter and force. True, dualism, as a basis for most philosophies, has been of incalculable service to thinkers engaged in interpreting nature; yet it has more than once been cast aside as useless—and worse. The Roman notation, essentially an obverse or reciprocal of the Tree of Porphyry, with its crude arithmetic, effectually barred an important line of intellectual advance until it was replaced by the infinitely elastic quinary and decimal notation of the Arabs—one of the greatest gifts ever made by human genius to human need. The passage from the essentially bifurcate Roman notation to the quinary system changed no aspect of nature, but gave men a new hold on nature and opened the way for otherwise impossible progress in interpretation. The Powellian philosophy covers a far wider field than that of mere numerical quantity, yet purports to offer, like the Arabic notation, a pentalogic substitute for persistent dualism, a simplified mechanism for interpreting nature and elucidating the mind. Whether pentalogy will prove as fruitful in philosophy as in arithmetic must be left to the future; but, if Powell's rendering of the law of motion and his definition of consciousness be found acceptable,—albeit slowly as Bacon's principles,—the system by which they were discovered must rank as a boon to mankind.

It is often said that Bacon was the last thinker to encompass the whole of human knowledge: it is sometimes held that the sum of human knowledge is now too great for assimilation by any single mind. The first proposition can hardly be gainsaid, since Bacon's knowledge

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rested on firmer foundation than that of any contemporary or any successor for centuries; yet it is worth while to note that a living scientific philosopher, of large technical acquaintance with nature and wide knowledge of the human mind, is to-day occupying the Baconian platform and supporting it by every great principle and category of facts brought to light during the era of progress inaugurated by Bacon's immortal work. The second proposition need not be gainsaid: it is the pessimism of knowledge; and the poor in intellect, as in purse, are always with us. Suffice it to note that, as every modern anthropologist knows, human knowledge is convergent and constantly reaching higher and higher with the development of individual faculty. A sufficient illustration is found in the work under review and its author. Bacon was inexpert in the technical applications of science, as the second book of his "Organum" painfully shows, and omitted much of the richer humanities from his scheme—indeed, all of the emotional side of life covered by his immortal contemporary, Shakespeare. The new organon (if it be so adjudged) was written by one who is a technical expert in many of the later sciences, and at the same time a master of the humanities, his analysis of the human mind covering the emotional as well as the purely intellectual phases.

Bacon's work was ill-understood during his lifetime and long after, chiefly because men were not ready to share his point of view; yet it initiated an epoch in history. Powell's extension of Bacon's work may also lie dormant, or may be found wanting by those who come after. But, to one reader at least, it gives promise of guiding progress as helpfully as its prototype. To him the now old organon and the new appear as the modern foundation of science. W J McGee.

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PECUNIARY AID FOR POOR AND ABLE STUDENTS.

THE remark is sometimes made that too many boys and girls are going to college. At the present time in the United States about one boy or girl of each thousand of the population is a student in an American college. This proportion is larger than has ever obtained before; and it is also larger than is found in any other part of the globe. When the maker of the above remark is questioned as to his reasons, the proposition usually becomes so reduced as to mean that we have too many lawyers and doctors.

That we have too many lawyers and doctors in the United States may be granted without affirming also that we are sending too many boys and girls to college. For going to college simply means that one is being educated: it does not mean that one is on the way to become a practitioner either in the law or in medicine. One-third of the graduates of not a few of our colleges are now entering business; not more than one-third are entering the legal profession; and a smaller proportion are becoming physicians. It certainly is not true that any country can have too many well-educated men. Men can hardly think or feel or reason too soundly, or possess an undue purity of the moral nature, or be endowed with a will which follows too closely the guidance of an enlightened intellect. The greater the number of such gentlemen in the community, the greater is the likeness of that community to the state of communal perfection.

It would not, therefore, be an extreme proposition to affirm that every member of the community should be educated, and educated by the wisest methods under the best conditions, unto the securing of the highest purposes. What if your scavenger be a bachelor of arts, or your butter-man, grocer, or candlestick-maker be a doctor of philosophy? Will not each attend to his duties the better because of his prolonged training? If his education fail to make him a better scavenger, that education has not been so thorough as it ought to have been. A lady's maid will dress her mistress's hair the more gracefully, and a nursery-maid will attend to the children the more worthily, because of four years spent in studying Greek and philosophy.

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It is well known that the higher education never pays for itself; and it is also well known that the higher the education becomes, the wider becomes the gap between the income and the expenditure for that education. The $75,000 which the Freshman class pays annually into the treasury of Harvard University more than meets the direct cost of the instruction of that class; but the $50,000 which the Senior class pays is very remote from meeting the direct cost of its instruction. The further education is pursued, the greater is the division of labor. The sections into which the members of the class are divided become smaller; and the relative expense for each student grows larger. The amount paid by the students of any college falls considerably short of the expenses of that institution. I know of a college the annual cost of whose administration is about $60,000, without counting the interest on the plant; and of this sum the students pay about $12,000. That is to say, the students pay one-fifth of the cost of their education; and the college pays four-fifths.

It is also well known that many homes in the United States are able to put from $2,000 to $4,000, or more, into the college education of a son or daughter. Forty or fifty thousand homes in the country are now making this investment of money and of love. It is also well known that other tens of thousands of homes would be very glad to make this investment of money in the education of a child, if only the parents had the money to invest. The sons and daughters of homes of poverty or of moderate income are none the less loved,—of course not,—are none the less able; and they possess none the less of promise of becoming useful members of society. The desire, therefore, of boys and girls who are not able to pay their own college bills to go to college, and the promise which these boys and girls give of rendering good service to the community, lay upon the community, and upon the college as a part or a function of the community, a very large and serious problem. Shall the college say to the applicant for admission: "Yes, we want to educate you; but you cannot expect the college to give you an education gratis. Bring to us the little fee which we charge, and we will do the best we can for you; but, if you cannot bring this fee, we are obliged to express with regret our inability to serve you"? Or shall the college say: "We are a public institution designed to serve the people. Our fees are small. The income that we receive from them represents only a small share of the total cost of giving an education. If you are not able to pay the full amount of the fee, small as it is, we will loan you the money sufficient to warrant you in beginning your course; and, if you prove yourself a

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worthy student, you will not be obliged to leave college because of poverty"? Which attitude shall the college take, with reference to certain members of the community?

The fundamental reason for the college helping the poor student at all is a reason which is fundamental in the constitution of the college itself; viz., the bettering of humanity, and the aiding of the community. For the college is to serve the community. It must serve the community by such methods and measures as its wisdom dictates; but the constitutional purpose is evident. Of course it can serve the community through the education of its worthy and promising members, as the community aids the college. The community blesses itself through constituting the college both its benefactor and its beneficiary.

These are the conditions under which the college has for generations been giving an education, more or less free, to American youth. The amount of money which the college has directly given and is still giving is very large. In these last years Columbia has paid to students directly or indirectly an amount aggregating $60,000. Harvard annually awards in scholarships and fellowships and similar forms of aid more than $40,000. For many years there stood in the annual catalogue of Harvard University this sentence:

> "The experience of the past warrants the statement that good scholars of high character, but slender means, are seldom or never obliged to leave college for want of money."

The annual expenditure in behalf of needy students of Yale is about $30,000. Cornell has 612 scholarships with free tuition; and the tuition fee for Cornell is $100 a year. The facts with regard to certain other colleges are also significant. Williams College distributes about $9,000 annually; Brown University, about $6,000; Amherst, $11,000; and Dartmouth, about $16,000. Western Reserve University annually awards about $8,000. The amount thus directly given to students in all the American colleges is probably not less than $200,000.

From the beginning the American college has had a warm heart for the poor and able boy. Dr. Julian M. Sturtevant, who was for many years President of Illinois College, and to whom many States of the Mississippi Valley are deeply indebted for noble contributions to their highest civilization, tells, in his Autobiography, of the help that was given to him in the early part of this century at Yale College. Dr. Sturtevant entered Yale in the year 1822. He was so poor that he was obliged to depend entirely upon himself, or upon such aid as he might receive, for getting through college. He says:

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"Our venerable mother, Yale, had some peculiar ways in dealing with her numerous family of boys. She took into consideration the peculiar conditions and needs of each student, and did not treat all exactly alike. She kindly permitted me to enjoy the good things of her dining-rooms and her halls of instruction with the full understanding that I would pay my way as fast as I could. None of her bills were due till the end of the term. I was then expected to pay what I could and give my note for the rest. From those students who had abundant resources a bond with responsible endorsement was required, covering the full amount of the indebtedness which each would be likely to incur for the whole four years' course, while from those who, like myself, had no money and in a business way no credit, no security was required but a personal note with evidence of a disposition to pay as fast as possible. In further evidence of Yale's liberality, I will mention that I several times found credit on my term bills which represented no payment by myself into the treasury. This very unusual and liberal system seems to have worked well in my case. It enabled me to continue in college, which would otherwise have been impossible. And in the end I paid all charges against me on the college books, both principal and interest. The generous treatment received from the Yale authorities I shall hold in lifelong grateful remembrance." [1]

The belief is common, although not universal, among college presidents that donations to needy and promising students represent a worthy form of educational beneficence. It is believed that the college, as a trustee for the holiest interests of humanity, should do its utmost in promoting the value and effectiveness of the forces that may make for the betterment of men. Such gifts are supported by the strongest human motives. They represent the essence of the Christian system. The college—like the church, the family, and the state—as an organized form of society should do its utmost in promoting the highest and largest welfare. So far as justice to all interests allows, the boy or girl who desires an education, and who would be made a better member of society by reason of having that education, should receive it. The evils which may result from such a philanthropic method may be thought to be great or slight; but they should be made so slight that the advantages accruing to society should become large and lasting.

I cannot but believe that the evils resulting from urging worthy youth, rich in brain but poor in purse, to enter college, are indeed slight; while the advantages may prove to be exceedingly great. Upon this point, President Gilman, in an address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard in 1886, said:

"Just now, in our own country, there is special reason for affirming that talents should be encouraged without respect to poverty. Indeed, it is quite probable that the rich need the stimulus of academic honors more than the poor; certainly the good of society requires that intellectual power, wherever detected, should be encouraged to exercise its highest functions."

[1] "Autobiography of JULIAN M. STURTEVANT," edited by his son, p. 80.

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Among all college presidents I know of one and only one who opposes the giving of a college education without cost to those who are eager to receive it. The president of one of the more conspicuous of the newer universities writes to me as follows:

"In my experience, the general effect of the granting of pecuniary aid is bad on the receiver and bad also on the body of students who do not receive. All forms of help granted here are in the shape of employment; and I would not have it otherwise. . . . I prefer low tuition or free tuition to all to any system of aid.

Loans are to be preferred to gifts; but their influence is sometimes bad, especially on those who feel tempted never to repay. In case funds of this sort were in my hands, I would use them to pay men who give promise of special usefulness by making them assistants in some departments where their help was actually needed."

Of course, in the giving of aid to students, the grounds of the grant are of absolute importance. The grounds upon which aid is usually given by a college are threefold; viz., first, the need of aid; second, the character of the applicant; and, third, the ability of the applicant. These grounds are often more or less difficult to determine. In not a few instances it is difficult to discover with thorough satisfaction whether the student be so in want that he should receive aid. The college usually takes pains to investigate the question. It frequently sends out printed circulars which are to be signed, not only by the applicant or his parents, but also by those outside of the family who know of the conditions. For instance, the following is the form that is used in a New England college:

"I hereby apply for a scholarship in .... College, on the ground that I am so far dependent upon my own exertions in securing a college education, as to make it necessary for me to receive special pecuniary aid from the College.

Signature of Applicant { Name ..... / Residence ..... / College Course .....

We endorse the above application from our personal knowledge of the pecuniary needs of the applicant, and in the belief that he is worthy both in character and talents of the desired aid.

Signature of two responsible parties with date and place

....

....

This application is made with my knowledge and approval, and because of my own inability to furnish the means necessary for the education of my son (or ward).

Signature of parent or guardian

....."

But even with this and similar inquiries every college officer knows

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that he is not infrequently imposed upon. For "need" is not an absolute term, but a relative one. One home, having an annual income of $1,000, will send a son or daughter to college and pay all the bills. Another home, having an income of $1,500, will become an applicant for a scholarship and will not see anything inconsistent in accepting a largess of $200 from the college. The opinion is altogether too common in the country that every college is rich, and that whatsoever a student can get from the college is so much gained. It is well known that great difficulty is experienced in the administration of what is known as the Price Greenleaf Aid Fund of Harvard University. I have known of boys who applied for aid from this fund and who have received the aid, but who, judged from the standard of expenditure in their homes, had no more right to it than the man in the moon. But the element of need, when once determined, is a fundamental ground for the awarding of aid. It becomes the college to investigate, with whatever of pains and courtesy the condition allows, to discover the exact character of the need, and to determine the amount necessary for the proper filling of the need. Of course the question of the character of the applicant also is fundamental. The college ought not under any condition to educate a boy whose character is bad and who gives no promise of becoming a useful member of the community. To educate a bad boy or a boy of no promise is to introduce a serpent into a dove's nest, or to train him for the serpent's career.

The college should also demand a high degree of intellectual ability and of promise in order to grant aid. The degree of ability and the degree of promise required vary in different colleges. In not a few the amount of aid is measured by the degree of ability or of promise. At this point the college meets with a constant difficulty. What is the minimum of ability which should justify a college faculty in giving aid to a student who is in need? The president of a college in Indiana writes:

> "It is not our policy to give aid to men poor in purse but unpromising scholars unless we discover that there is a good deal of potency in them. The college should train character, it is true; but it is also to train intellect. Some men ought not to have a college education, and can be more useful members of society by doing something else rather than attending college."

The president of a college in Michigan writes:

> "No discrimination should be made against moderately dull students. Beneficiary aid is not for the exceptionally gifted alone."

The president of a university in the State of New York writes:

> "It seems to us that there ought to be, for every such grant, the demonstrated

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ability either of achievement or promise, and that there ought to be, besides, the fact of need. Sometimes the need is the one thing which prevents a student from being properly equipped for beginning the course which he wishes to pursue. At entrance, therefore, we should doubtless be more lenient in accepting promise in lieu of achievement than we should be later in the course."

The president of a denominational college in Ohio says:

"We are coming more and more to question the wisdom of granting aid to goody-goody fellows who have little brain-power. On a scale of a possible 100, we now require a passing grade of 80 for all beneficiary students; whereas others pass on 60."

It is evident that the degree of promised usefulness which should be expected from an applicant for aid represents one of the most difficult questions for a faculty to consider. In general, it is to be said that the faculty is inclined to give the applicant the advantage of the doubt. For the very fact that he is eager for an education is some evidence of his worthiness to receive it; and it is also promise that he will make his life of the greater worth by reason of receiving it.

The aid which the college gives a student is usually of one of three forms. The most common form is that known as a "scholarship." A scholarship usually represents a gift of a certain sum of money made to the college, the income of which is to be used in aiding an individual to get an education. The annual value of a scholarship differs in different instances. In Harvard the annual value runs from, perhaps, $50 to $400; and the average is about $225. In most colleges the annual value is equivalent to the annual charge for instruction.

A second form of aid consists in payments from the general funds of the institutions. These payments are frequently made over and above any remission of fees or grants of scholarships. The most conspicuous of these funds is the Price Greenleaf Fund of Harvard University already alluded to. Among the more notable gifts to educational institutions of the last year was the bequest of Edward Austin of about $1,000,000 to Harvard and to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to establish beneficiary funds for students. The nature of these funds in the different colleges is well indicated by the circular which is sent out by one of the Presbyterian colleges of Pennsylvania. It reads as follows:

"Aid is given to students who would otherwise be unable to enjoy the advantages of a liberal education under the following conditions:

1. The sons of ministers of the Presbyterian Church and candidates for its ministry are admitted to the Classical and Latin-Scientific courses without any charge for tuition; while in the Technical courses one-half of their tuition fees is remitted. This rule may be extended in special cases to include other denominations.

2. Young men who have no parents, who are entirely dependent upon their own

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efforts to get their education, upon presentation of proper certificates of character, industry, and their inability to attend college without aid, receive such assistance as may be available at the time of their application, not exceeding the tuition fee in the Classical and Latin-Scientific courses, or one-half the tuition fee in the Technical courses.

3. In special cases also aid is given to those not included in the foregoing classes by the loan of an amount similar to the aid given to those above mentioned, to be repaid in a given period without interest. The period will be sufficiently long after leaving college to give opportunity for the borrower to become established in his profession or business."

A third form of aid consists in the granting of loans to students. This represents a method somewhat new; for it has been only within the past few years that colleges have been willing to loan money to students with the hope of repayment. Absolute grants or gifts had previously been made. The testimony of nearly all—but not all—college presidents is in favor of loans as the best means of aid. This method, of course, labors under the disadvantage of laying a burden upon the graduate; for most men who are poor in college have not the strength or the means to remove the debt until several years after graduation. The conditions which have kept them in poverty up to the age of twenty-two usually tend to continue them in poverty until the age of twenty-six. Such a debt easily proves to be a financial burden. Certainly it is not well for a man to face life with heavy pecuniary responsibilities resting upon him.

But the advantages of the system of loans are great. The method delivers from the fear of pauperizing the student. It develops self-respect in the student. It proves to be a less serious burden for the college than the method of absolute gifts; for the loans that are repaid represent an increment of power for aiding the students of the future.

The testimony of many college presidents upon the loan as the best method is ample. The president of a State university in the Middle West says:

"I am emphatic in the belief that all pecuniary aid should be granted in the form of a definite loan. Every dollar of this should be repaid with reasonable interest. Wherever possible, there should be some responsible person as endorser. The time within which the loan is to be paid may be so extended as to make it more than reasonably sure that repayment can be made without distressing the borrower: but the interest should be paid regularly; and the principal should at least be provided for by a new note when it becomes due. The endorser should understand that he is held responsible just as he would be upon any other bank paper. It seems to me that, considering the long time of the loan and the comparatively small amount, no man of real promise can be so situated that he has no friend who will back him in a loan of this kind. The borrower should be made clearly to understand that the only generosity in this whole matter is that which makes it possible

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for him to borrow, and that he must make a definite return in order that some one else may have a like benefit."

The loans that are thus made are, however, usually debts of honor; and they are usually made on the pledge that they will be repaid when the student is financially able. Of the condition of his financial ability it is usually allowed that the student himself shall be the judge. It is at this point that colleges are passing through diverse experiences. "When I am able," is a phrase which students who have become graduates and have entered into money-making professions interpret in the most diverse ways. For instance, one student who is earning $600 as a teacher judges that he ought to pay up his college debts, and does pay them up. Another student earns this same amount of money for one year, straightway feels that he is justified in becoming a husband, and soon finds that, as the head of a family, he is not able to do more than support his wife and children. One student, who has borrowed $500 from the college, becomes a lawyer, receives an income of $1,200, leases a house at $20 a month, and judges that he is not able to pay his debt to the college. Another graduate, who becomes a minister, is in debt to the college $600, is unmarried, and earns a salary of $800 a year. Should the latter be regarded as able to pay his college debt? Should, for instance, a student who borrowed from the college the sum of $700, who is earning $650 as a teacher, be justified in saving his money in order to go to Germany to win his doctor's degree and thus fit himself the better for teaching? These and similar problems present themselves in the experience of every college administrator. In general, the colleges are having the most varied experience in the repayment of loans. The president of a small although first-rate and historic college in Central New York says that loans which he makes privately out of funds under his personal control are always paid, but that loans or remissions made in the tuition are defaulted to the extent of about one-half. The president of a New England college writes me:

"Our experience coincides with the general one, that loans are held as very light obligations by the students. The working of our loan fund has been a great disappointment. . . . I fear that the almost universal practice of indiscriminate largess has debauched and demoralized the financial conscience of students."

But the president of an Ohio college makes the following statement respecting its scholarship funds:

"The fund was founded in September, 1882, and the original amount was $15,000. Half of the amount repaid is to be added to the principal.

Present endowment	$17,544.05
Total assistance loaned	15,710.00

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Total loan notes matured	$8,275.00
Total notes taken up	5,088.10
Total matured and unpaid	3,186.90
Total extended by Treasurer	1,260.00
Total due and uncollected	1,926.90

Experience would show that about 8 per cent of the notes (in recent years) are taken up before maturity, and 50 per cent at maturity. I do not think that more than 1 per cent, if so much, is wholly uncollectable."

The president of a Colorado college says:

"When we have made loans we have had very good experience in having the money paid back with fair promptness."

Another college president in one of the Middle States says that he should "estimate the returned loans at about 30 per cent of the entire amounts loaned." An officer of another conspicuous college in the Middle States says that

"students whose tuition is remitted, and who do not enter the ministry, are expected to refund the entire amount after graduation as soon as they can do so without serious financial embarrassment. We do not require a written obligation; and few ever refund! . . . We have a small loan fund, and require of those receiving aid from it to give a note payable one year after graduation. These notes are usually paid."

The general inference to be derived from the experience of our colleges in respect to the repayment of loans is that, if care be taken in the making of the loans, and if a wise endeavor be made to secure their repayment, the larger part of the amount loaned will be repaid. But it is also evident that, if care and pains be not taken in the making of loans, or if care and pains be lacking in securing payment, only a small percentage will be repaid. College graduates, like all other members of humanity, need to be reminded of their obligations.

As to the amount that should thus be loaned to students, two or three rules are evident. First, the amount should be sufficient to make an education possible. Second, the amount should not be so large as to lessen the self-respect or the self-activity of the recipient. And, third, the amount should be sufficient to restrain the student from doing too much work for self-support; for the College finds that certain men of activity, and who are unwilling to borrow money, sacrifice the value of their college course for the sake of earning money.

One remark should be added to this general discussion. It is the lack of wisdom shown in aiding special classes of students. For generations the American college has been inclined to aid those who propose to become ministers, and also those who are the sons of ministers or of missionaries. The bestowal of this kind of aid has arisen in no small

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degree from the colleges being, in their origin, institutions for the education of ministers. The larger part of our colleges, too, have been founded by churches, or by the ministers of these churches. Therefore, favor has been shown to the sons of clergymen and to those who propose to become clergymen. It cannot now be doubted that this method is thoroughly bad. It tends to give advantages to one class—or it may be said that it tends to put disadvantages upon one class—of students who should not be thus subjected to a disadvantage, and who, if the condition be regarded as an advantage, should not receive this benefit. Students in colleges do not, as a rule, possess sufficient maturity, or have not adequately considered the purpose of their collegiate career, to make a just claim for pecuniary aid upon this ground. Let students be aided as individuals, but never let them be helped because they are, or propose to be, members of a certain professional or other class.

I do not now say a word with reference to those who propose to become ministers, who have already entered upon their professional studies. This is a question entirely apart from granting aid to them while they are undergraduates.

The following principles emerge from these considerations, which should be maintained in giving aid to students in college; viz.,

1. Every grant of aid should be made upon the ground of the claims of the individual concerned. The good health and promise of life of the applicant should be considered.

2. In granting aid, evidence should be based so far as possible upon the man himself rather than upon testimony about the man.

3. The amount of aid granted should vary according to the need, character, and promise of usefulness of the applicant.

4. In case testimony is required, the testimony should be secured from witnesses outside the applicant's family as well as within.

5. All aid should promote the self-respect and manliness of the student receiving it.

6. No aid should be given to classes of students *as classes.*

7. All grants of aid should be confined to one year; and no assurance should be given of aid for more than one year, unless the grounds of the award still obtain.

8. Every wise and proper means should be used to impress upon the student the debt of gratitude that he owes the college; but there should be no badgering.

9. The college should follow up each loan with courteous care, in order to secure repayment.

CHARLES F. THWING.

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THE CONDITIONS OF GOOD COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

WE are just now full of hope about our ability to govern inferior races, although we have not made a success with the two inferior races which we have had in charge. The definable reasons we have for this belief are that we are physically so strong, and have hitherto been so happy and comfortable here at home. But do we not owe this optimism to the way in which we confuse the two terms "can" and "will"? We are constantly talking of what the nation *can* do, when what we really mean, or ought to mean, is what the nation *will* do. There is in my mind no question, for practical purposes, about what the nation can do. What we have to consider is what the nation will do. Although I do not quite agree with the Member of Congress who said, nobody could persuade him that a nation of seventy millions could not collect a tax of two dollars a gallon on whiskey, I admit there are practically no limits to the ability of the United States. What I fear is that the sight of our fleets and armies and revenue has a tendency to deceive us as to our capacity for a consistent and steady policy.

War is a delightful pastime for young people; but administration is an affair of dry details and drudgery. We are bursting to-day with good intentions; but what calls for our whole thought is not the means of *holding* our colonies, but the means of governing them for their own benefit. It will not do to govern them no better than the Spaniards, that is, to govern them for our gain, and make the possession of them a challenge to the world: we must try for something better, not simply because we have been able to defeat Spain, but because we stand before her in the files of time, because our political manners are superior to hers, because, to sum it up, we are more "enlightened." Unless we do the right thing, our shame will endure as long as our nation lasts; for we must not forget that we are the only modern nation which has laid any public formal claim to a character. Other nations have performed one or two high moral feats, like the liberation of the slaves by Great Britain; but we are the only nation which has openly professed on paper to have laid its foundations in the golden rule. Gen. Ben Butler used to say that he never had had a happy day until he had got rid of his character; but we cannot copy him.

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Colonizing—including under that name the making of savages into Christians—did not begin in the modern world until the discovery of America. Its main object was to secure trade for the mother-country. There was always a good deal of missionary enterprise in it, though it was only France and Spain which attempted to found colonies on a great scale through the government. English colonies were generally composed of persons who wished, for some reason, to expatriate themselves; French and Spanish colonies, generally, of persons whom the state desired to expatriate. Spanish and French colonies, on the other hand, were all formed on the Roman model, and made to live and conduct their affairs in strict subordination to the parent-state. English colonies, almost from the beginning, were, in a large measure, self-governing and were mainly left to themselves. France and Spain always sought to rule their colonies in what might be called a motherly fashion, even to seeing that the souls of the colonists were saved. Partly as a result of this difference of system, the British colonies have been a great success; while those of France and Spain are either in a very languishing condition, or have been lost by insurrection, or seizure by a foreign Power. England is and must be our colonial model. It is she who leads the world in colonial methods, both as regards colonies settled and started by men of our own race, and colonies inhabited by inferior races and plainly incapable of self-government. There may be discovered, in the unknown future, better ways of managing such communities than those which she has adopted: but, thus far, her colonial system is the best in the world; and it is about it that I propose to write.

When I come to discuss the English system, I am met at the outset by the fact that England has, as have all other nations possessing colonies of which I have any knowledge, a permanent executive, which has every facility for maintaining and pursuing a consistent policy for at least a long series of years. I am thus confronted with the question, whether the administration of distant possessions is possible with an executive shifting every four years through universal suffrage. I confess that this seems to me the most formidable of all the difficulties which we have to face, in setting up a colonial empire. In calling attention to it, I am not talking "politics": I am presenting a problem in the art of government. My question is: If we set up a government of inferior races at a great distance from home, can we, if we expect to have a respectable colonial administration, leave the appointing power, without any restriction but the Senate's veto, in the hands of the President? We have found in the administration of our own affairs here at home—"parochial affairs" as some

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of our politicians consider them—that this Presidential power of appointment works badly, very badly. The only remedy we have as yet discovered, and that is only a partial one, is the movement called "Civil Service Reform." We take great satisfaction in this; and yet in what does it consist? Simply in voluntary restrictions placed on his own powers by the President, which he may abrogate at any moment. I hear fears expressed that he is about to abrogate some of them very soon.

All the objections to this arbitrary power of appointment and dismissal here at home apply with tenfold greater force to colonial administration. When the news arrived that we were to have Expansion last summer, I happened to be in England, and naturally discussed the matter a good deal with that very small body of Englishmen who understand the American Constitution and American political ways. I remember that almost the first remark they made was, "You will have to amend your Constitution, if you are going to have dependencies." "Why so?" I asked. "Because you cannot administer them under your present mode of appointment." But the remark which most impressed me was that of a gentleman who said, "If the Queen had to get the approval of the House of Lords for all her appointments to office, the British Empire would be a wreck in six months." What did he mean by this? He meant that the Peers would do exactly what our Senators do; viz., exact favors in return for the confirmation of appointees, or insist on the appointment of unfit relatives or dependents.

We know how our executive has administered this great trust, in the appointment of foreign ministers and consuls and Indian agents and revenue officials. And this has gone on so long, that a very large portion of our governing class, though they submit to the Civil Service Law, hate it, and cannot be persuaded that what we call "the spoils system" is not a useful and necessary part of the American polity.

Another argument against any colonial policy which is not directed by a permanent executive is, that it is only by permanence in rules and regulations that a really civilizing influence can be exercised on barbarous, or semi-barbarous, people. The most prominent and striking feature of barbarous life and government is uncertainty as to the demands and expectations of the sovereign power. All competent observers agree that the thing which has most impressed the natives of the vast semi-civilized regions which England and Russia have subdued is the permanence which the conquerors have infused into the lives of the people. The people feel confident now, as they used not to feel, that they will have to obey the same laws and the same rules and regulations—not the

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same men, but the same kind of men—next year that they have been obeying this year. I do not think I need set before the readers of THE FORUM the reasons which make me fear that no such permanence is possible under an executive, however well-intentioned, elected every four years by universal suffrage, and largely influenced or controlled by a legislature elected every two years by the same suffrage. It would be quite natural and human that succeeding Presidents should have different views from their respective predecessors, and that each should attempt to carry them out, either for the purpose of giving practical effect to honest convictions of his own or of his party, or merely in order to make a name that would distinguish him from those who went before him. The same things may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of successive Congresses.

But this variation in the character or state of mind of successive Presidents is not the only objection to them as rulers of colonies. The Presidency of the United States is not only one of the greatest positions in the world, but it is the greatest prize ever offered to the winner of the popular vote. No human being has ever, in any age, been raised to such a position by *plébiscite*. I do not count the French *plébiscites* of the Third Empire, which were obviously shams. It would be expecting more than we have any right to expect from human nature, to expect that any man will not use all the means in his power to procure such a dignity. It represents distinction in a community in which a very large portion of the population is uneasy in obscurity. It represents power in the very form in which it has, in all ages, most inflamed human ambition.

That the President will use the appointing power to procure his renomination is what we should expect, if we argued only from principles of human nature. But we know, from actual observation, that he will so use it; for nearly every President, since nomination by convention began, has so used it, either for his own benefit or for that of party friends. A wholesale distribution of foreign missions, consulships, Indian agencies, post-offices, and revenue collectorships is the ordinary accompaniment of every Presidential election, to say nothing of more obscure bargains and "deals." Most professional politicians pass much of their mature life preparing for the next Presidential election, and think a refusal to use any means within reach to influence the result a mark of weakness or of mental aberration. That a President seeking renomination would not employ foreign, as well as home, nominations for the purpose seems improbable.

But there is still another aspect of the matter. One of the duties

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of every candidate for the Presidency is to get rivals out of the way. This is as sacred a duty as pushing one's own claims. The candidate who seeks renomination must lose no opportunity of discrediting other candidates or suspected candidates,—the more sedulously, if they are already in the service of the Government. Their labors must be belittled; their opportunities of distinction must be withheld; or they must be put to work in regions in which their peculiar talents cannot be displayed. Though last, not least, I must mention the fact that the Presidency is our one reward, not simply for distinguished public service, but for any kind of distinction that takes the popular fancy. We nominate men for that office, not only for the most trifling military or naval exploit, but for drawing a popular tariff, or concocting a taking metaphor, sometimes even for being decent and well-behaved, and not having excited envy. The minute a man does or says anything out of the common, he is talked of for the Presidency; so that we are never sure of retaining a successful public servant long in the office in which he has distinguished himself. For instance, under our system, Lord Kitchener would put Queen Victoria's crown in danger in 1900, and Lord Cromer would be almost certain to be in Buckingham Palace in 1904. The effect which such a state of things would have on discipline and subordination can readily be seen.

If I seem to attach too much importance to this point,—the probability of change in popular interest and attention,—let me call to mind what has happened with regard to a matter affecting us far more nearly than the question of the government of distant dependencies: I mean the condition of the Southern Negroes. At the close of the Civil War there was passionate popular interest in the Negroes here at the North, which was quite natural, considering what we had gone through for their sake. But there was also a profound popular belief that the suffrage was all they needed to make them excellent citizens of the United States. Well, it will be readily admitted how completely that position has been abandoned. The restriction of the suffrage, on the ground of race, in our very first colony, Hawaii, has been recommended by our Commissioners; and more wonderful still, the refusal of the suffrage to ignorant colored persons has recently been recommended by the journal "founded by Horace Greeley." And the interest in the Negroes has so far disappeared from the popular mind, that in one American State they have been driven out by force from offices to which they had been lawfully elected, and practically forbidden by the Governor, on pain of death, to enter another, in search of labor, with hardly a notice from the press.

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Such changes are even more probable in the future; and our means of combating them will be smaller. Every increase of our population renders more difficult the task of persuading or of moulding popular opinion on any particular question. The mass to be moved is weightier; and the area it covers, greater. We must be prepared for what we call more "crazes."

Hitherto I have been speaking of difficulties put in our way by the Constitution, and which can only be removed by an amendment. I come now to speak of what may be done to overcome difficulties by simple legislation. First of all, our colonies must be governed by a fixed organization or service composed of picked men, who must be selected, except in the highest grades, by competitive examination, be promotable for efficiency, hold office during good behavior, and be extremely well paid. This is the English system. It may be said I am proposing an English copy. It may be asked, have I no truly national American way to propose? Frankly I have not, any more than an American standard of value or an American art of navigation. The art of governing subject races is one which has been studied for hundreds of years. It is an art just like shipbuilding, or locomotive-building, or road-making, in which the experience of those who have gone before us is our main guide.

But it may be asked, why will the army and navy not supply the instrument of government I am describing? Are not the officers we are now sending to our conquered islands exactly the kind of men I say the members of our colonial service ought to be? The answer to this is, that the cases are very rare in which a military officer has been long employed in civil duties without losing his value as a soldier, or long in military duties without losing his value as a civilian. You cannot make heavy drafts on the army for political purposes without more or less disorganization of the army. Moreover, the military education is not one which, as a general rule, prepares a man for civil government. The soul of the army is blind obedience. It is the tool the soldier best understands, and through which he is most efficient. But the spirit which every good civil government seeks to infuse into a subject population is the spirit of self-reliance and self-restraint.

In all the British colonies in which there appears the least chance of success, an effort has been made to push, in some degree at least, the population into the management of their own affairs. I believe it is generally acknowledged that the principal secondary cause of the success of British colonies, as compared with those of France and Germany, is that Great Britain places the least possible reliance on military govern-

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ment, and throws, as much as possible, on the colonists and on civil servants the responsibility for their own condition; while every French and German colony swarms with soldiers, and is governed almost wholly by military men. In short, the experience of colonizing nations teaches us that the army can rarely, in an imperfectly civilized community, be more than an aid to the civil power, or at most a temporary resort. As to the navy, I have never heard of admirals exercising civil functions ashore for any great length of time, except in Crete, where there were peculiar reasons for their action. Detachment from his ship is tenfold more injurious to a sailor than are civil duties to a soldier. I have been told, in fact, that one great cause of the inefficiency of the Spanish navy was the love of the officers for the land.

I think, therefore, that I may say that, although we can, as the politicians say, "keep what we have got" without any difficulty, we cannot have colonies which will do us any credit without having for their control and management a permanent body removed from, and uninfluenced by, the vicissitudes of party politics at home. I say unhesitatingly that without something of the kind our colonial system will be no better than that of the Spaniards. There must be an organization like that of the army, but, unlike the army, absolutely exempt in some manner from all Presidential or senatorial interference with either appointment or promotion.

Now let me attempt to describe what sort of thing this is in the empire in which most pains have been taken to bring it to perfection. For administrative purposes, the English foreign possessions, which stretch all over the globe, are divided into (1) Crown colonies, which are ruled directly from the Colonial Office by such machinery as it thinks best suited to the purpose; (2) self-governing colonies, settled by men of the English race familiar with the working of parliamentary institutions; and (3) India, which has its own system and rules. With the self-governing colonies I do not think I need occupy the reader.

There has been a separate Colonial Department of the British Government ever since 1660; but it has of course gone through endless modifications, which I need not recount. There are five departments; viz., North American and Australasian, West Indian, Eastern, South African, and West African. Each colony has a governor, whose powers, of course, depend on the nature of the government to be carried on. In the self-governing colonies his office is made to resemble that of the Queen as much as possible.

In the Crown colonies the Governor fills a much more important

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position. The officers under him are divided into three classes, according to the amount of the salary—£100 and under, £200 and under, and exceeding £200. When a vacancy occurs in the first of these classes, the Governor can fill it at discretion; but he must report the appointment to the Colonial Office on the first opportunity. When a vacancy occurs in either the second or the third class, he may fill it also, but only provisionally; and he must report what he has done to the Secretary of the Colonies, with the name and qualifications of the person to whom he has given the provisional appointment. The appointment does not become permanent until it has been approved by the Home Government; and the Secretary of the Colonies may make a different one.

The restrictions on the Governor's appointing power are these: The Home Government will "regard more favourably appointments"—I am quoting the words of the regulation—"which are in the nature of promotions of meritorious Public Servants, than appointments made in favour of persons who are new to the Public Service." And when a new office is created, "the Governor's recommendation"—I am again quoting—"will carry with it less weight than in the case of offices which the Governor may have found already established." In such case the place would usually be filled from home. What the rules call "gentlemen connected with the Governor," who have gone to the colony with him, and who with us would probably be called "confidential secretaries," are, it is said, "open to much objection, and will rarely be confirmed . . . Local connexion with the Colony by birth, family ties, or otherwise, will be considered, generally speaking, to render a candidate ineligible." There is also a prohibition against editing newspapers or engaging in business.

It will be seen here that entrance to this department of the service is obtained by simple recommendation. The colonies to be ruled differ so widely in manners, antecedents, and degrees of civilization, that the appointment through the competitive system would hardly be practicable. There could not be, for example, a common standard for admission to the service in British Guiana and East Africa and there would probably be no competition that would not be farcical for some places, such as those on the African Gold Coast. The responsibility is thrown mainly on the Governor. He can only make appointments of the lowest order —messengers, porters, etc.—absolutely. He must explain and justify every other to the home authorities. His own term of office is six years. During his term of office he acts under Rule 73, which is as follows:

"In the distribution of the patronage of the Government in the Colonies, great weight must always be attached to local services and experience. Every Governor

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will therefore make, once in each year, a *Confidential Report* of the claims of Candidates, whether already employed in the Public Service or not, whom he may consider to possess those qualifications, in order that, when a vacancy or an opportunity for promotion occurs, the Secretary of State may have before him additional means, besides the immediate recommendation of the Governor, for judging how far the particular Candidate recommended by the Governor is on the whole the best qualified, and whether a Candidate of proper qualifications is to be found in that or in any other Colony. The Governor will ascertain and report upon the qualifications of other Candidates, of whom he may have less knowledge, when he sees sufficient reason for supposing that the Public Service might gain by their admission into it; but in the application of these Rules much must be left to the Governor's discretion."

The Governor is judged at the end of his term by the manner in which he has exercised the appointing power; and, should his record *not be creditable, he runs the risk of receiving no other appointment,* or none for a good while. What the Governor's duties are in a semi-civilized colony, like one of the West Indian islands, it is easy to guess. I have read some of the reports of the governors of the more savage colonies such as Natal and Zululand; and I find his business is mainly to preserve order, if possible, by good advice. Coercion seems not to be resorted to, except in the last extremity. The tribal chief is in constant communication with him, and is constantly acting under his advice. He is advised not to kill somebody with whom he has had a quarrel, to build a school-house, to wear more clothing, and so on. Nearly every incident is reported to the Colonial Office.

Now it would be difficult to adapt this system to our use only so long as the spoils system continued in use among us. When you have appointment, not by competition, but by selection for fitness, it must be supported by home opinion and practice. If appointments are being made at home, for insufficient or party reasons, by the President, or by any one high in office, so that the public is used to such things, and a man incurs no disgrace or discredit by doing them, you will get few governors under this system, in any of our colonies, who can be trusted to maintain a good service. It did not become a good service in England all at once. In the earlier days the English Colonial Service was thoroughly corrupt. The governors were apt to be the broken-down scions of good families; and the trains they took with them were naturally not much better. It was the introduction of a pure service into the mother-country that purified the Colonial Service abroad; and it is that which keeps it pure to-day, in spite of many opportunities of corruption.

We now come to what is the real pride and glory of England—the corps of men which she employs in the government of India. Let me

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begin by saying a word as to the class from which the Indian Service is drawn. In the first place, social station affects a young Englishman's imagination much more powerfully than it does that of a young American. Every parent who can afford it sends his sons to one of the great public schools, where he associates with the sons of rich and great people, and, after a while, no matter what the state of his home affairs may be, comes to think himself one of them. Some years ago Tom Hughes lamented, as one of the drawbacks of an Eton education, that every Eton boy was apt to believe that his mission in life was to be a master of foxhounds and to have £5,000 a year.

Now the English public schools have many merits; but among their defects is a tendency to nourish overweening social ambition, to create a certain unwillingness to "go into business," a great love for athletics, and fondness for a life of adventure. The consequence is that England turns out every year a very large body of educated and muscular youths in search of employment—especially in the open air—which is permanent and well paid. The result is that the English Government has a vast class of young men to choose from, for all the offices of the state. They are not, as so often with us, the men who have failed in life, or the men who shrink from what is called "making their way," who present themselves for the public service: they are the young, the vigorous, the well-educated, and the hopeful. They do not look simply for temporary employment to tide them over some crisis in their own affairs, nor seek it because of some miscarriage which makes private employment hopeless, or because of services to the party at the polls which have been rendered in expectation of remuneration. They seek employment by the Government with the expectation of making it "a career." They wish to make it a career because they know their tenure of office will depend on good behavior, because they will have promotion for efficiency, because, after a certain number of years of service, they will have good pensions. In other words, the Government Service has all the attractions of a successful profession without the uncertainty of professions.

We could, undoubtedly, secure candidates from a similar class here, but only by offering them the public service as a lifelong career, and paying them far higher salaries than are usual with us. Of the probability that our Congress would establish such a system every one must judge for himself. It is right to say that it is in India, like the Indian Empire itself, of very slow growth, and the result of a profound conviction that the Empire could not be held with any other class of men.

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The Service is the result of an experience of its necessity. The standards for admission to it are very high; but they have become high through the pressure of competition. Year by year for twenty-five years, the number of young men who have desired to make the Indian Service a calling has increased; and the authorities have been compelled, in self-defence, to increase the difficulty of entering it.

Let me say a few words in explanation of this process of entrance into the Service. In the first place, a young man has to pass a pretty stiff examination merely to get on to the list of candidates for the eligible list, from which the appointees are eventually selected. Let me cite, from the official book or "Indian List," the subjects of examination for 1898 for admission to this eligible list:

"4. The Open Competitive Examination will take place only in the following branches of knowledge:

	Marks	
English Composition		500
Sanskrit Language and Literature		500
Arabic do. do.		500
Greek do. do.		750
Latin do. do.		750
English Language and Literature (including special period named by the Commissioners)		500
French Language and Literature		500
German Language and Literature		500
Mathematics (pure and applied)		900
Advanced Mathematical subjects (pure and applied)		900
Natural Science, *i.e.*, any number not exceeding *three* of the following subjects:—		
Elementary Chemistry and Elementary Physics	600	
(N.B. This subject may not be taken up by those who offer either Higher Chemistry or Higher Physics.)		
Higher Chemistry	600	
Higher Physics	600	
Geology	600	
Botany	600	
Zoölogy	600	
Animal Physiology	600	1,800
Greek History (Ancient, including Constitution)		400
Roman History (do. do.)		400
English History		500
General Modern History (period to be selected by Candidates from list in the syllabus issued by the Commissioners, one period at least to include Indian History)		500
Logic and Mental Philosophy (Ancient and Modern)		400
Moral Philosophy (Ancient and Modern)		400

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Political Economy and Economic History..... 500
Political Science (including Analytical Jurisprudence, the Early History of Institutions, and Theory of Legislation)..... 500"

Let me also quote what is necessary for admission to the Police Force—as officers of course: the men in the ranks are all natives:

"Roman Law..... 500
English Law. [Under the head of 'English Law' shall be included the following subjects, viz.: (1) Law of Contract; (2) Law of Evidence; (3) Law of the Constitution; (4) Criminal Law; (5) Law of Real Property; and, of these five subjects, Candidates shall be at liberty to offer any four, but not more than four.]..... 500"

No one is expected or required to pass in all these subjects. But each subject has a certain number of marks attached to it; and of course the more subjects in which a candidate passes, the better off he is. The man who passes in the most gets the highest place.

Now, what happens to a candidate after he has secured a place on the eligible list? He remains on probation in England for one year before being actually employed, engaged in one of the ten universities in studies in which he is examined during the year to test his progress.

"9. Selected Candidates before proceeding to India will be on probation for one year, at the end of which time they will be examined, with a view of testing their progress in the following subjects:—

Compulsory.

	Marks.
1. Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code	500
2. The principal Vernacular Language of the Province to which the Candidate is assigned	400
3. The Indian Evidence Act and the Indian Contract Act	500"

These subjects are compulsory. The candidate then has to compete, if he pleases, in the following subjects:

"*Optional.* [Not more than two of the following subjects, of which one must be either the Code of Civil Procedure or Hindu and Muhammadan Law.]

1. The Code of Civil Procedure..... 400
2. Hindu and Muhammadan Law..... 450
3. Sanskrit..... 400
4. Arabic..... 400
5. Persian..... 400
6. History of British India..... 350
7. Chinese (for Candidates assigned to the province of Burma only)... 400"

In addition to all this he has to show himself to be a good rider on horseback; not merely a showy park rider, but a man capable of making long journeys in the saddle. This is called the "final examination."

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Should he pass it, and gain a sufficiently high place on the eligible list to be selected for a vacancy, and prove himself to be absolutely sound physically, he proceeds to India to such province as he himself selects, or as the authorities think him best fitted for.

In addition to the Civil Service and the Police, there is a Forestry Service, and a Telegraph Service, to which entrance is obtained by examinations of equal difficulty; and the entrance is followed by a long period of special instruction in colleges established by the Government for the preparation of young men for their work.

Now I need hardly say that proficiency in all these branches of knowledge is not deemed necessary to enable a candidate to perform his official duties. What the English Government aims at is not learned men, but men who have striven to acquire learning; not so much accomplished men as men who have had sufficient intellectual preparation to make it likely that they will readily profit by experience and by a wider knowledge of affairs. To pass the Indian examination, in fact, gives somewhat the same impression of a man that a college degree gives with us: it creates a presumption in his favor.

These candidates for the Indian Service are drawn from a class in which, in spite of the great social changes which the country has seen, the sense of "social obligation" is still strong; that is, a class which feels social disgrace acutely. A man who has been able to prepare himself for the Indian Service examination probably has parents, brothers, or sisters, whom he can make proud by his success, or to whom he may bring great sorrow by his misconduct or even failure. In other words, *shame* is still a more powerful agent in the class from which Government servants would be likely to come in England than with us. I think the best way of describing the difference would be to say that, on the whole, a man with a bad character gets more enjoyment out of life in politics here than he does in England. Illustrations of this must occur to the reader in great numbers.

Then again, I must call attention to the way in which in England the Indian Service has been made to bring the public service into closer contact with the universities. It is practically impossible for anybody but a university man to get into the Indian Civil Service. That is, he must have formed habits of study in order to pass the examination; and a college graduate is more likely to have these habits than a mere volunteer,—and I need not say how largely habits of close, persistent attention enter into the acquisition of knowledge. It is true that the German Government relies even more than the English on the universities

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for its public servants; but the German political machinery has much less democracy in it than the English.

I need hardly say that I am not placing this account of the Indian Service before the reader as something that we can or ought to try to imitate, or as something which, in all respects, it would be desirable to imitate, even if we could. It has taken the English fifty years, and the needs of a constantly growing empire, to create the marvellously efficient class by which she governs India. I simply set it before the reader as an example of what may be done, not by seventy millions of people who *can*, but by even thirty-five or forty millions who *will*. It shows us, not what we can accomplish, but what we ought to aim at. In other words, it is a sort of "counsel of perfection."

The sum and substance of the whole matter is, that we cannot, in my opinion, govern colonies in any way but the Spanish way—that is, by simply "holding on" to them—except through an organization which shall be exempt from the vicissitudes of our frequent elections, which shall have nothing to hope or fear from party changes, which shall offer to young men of character and ability a career which they may enter for precisely the same reasons which induce them to into the banking business or the dry-goods business,—the hope of a reasonably good livelihood and a provision for old age.

People are familiar enough with the rules of good administration; but they are not so familiar with the great truth that these rules are just the same for political as for private affairs, and that men work in the public service under the influence of precisely the same motives as in private business. A recognition of this fact is the secret of success for democracy. Without it, *at home* as well as abroad, I do not myself believe it will succeed in the long run: it will be converted into some kind of bossism. You may have big fleets and armies, and you may rule enormous areas, but they will not be ruled by democracy any more than New York is ruled by its people. What I fear now is that we are placing too much reliance on our conquering powers, and are attaching too little importance to the duty and the difficulty of using the really great administrative talents of the nation in the public service. E. L. GODKIN.

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THE MENACE TO ENGLAND'S COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY.

In September, 1885, at the Aberdeen meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, one of the members chose for a subject of discussion the question of the balance of trade. In the course of his remarks, he said:

> "In forty years Great Britain has imported £1,600,000,000 more than she has exported; and so she ought, according to the Fair Traders, to be £1,600,000,000 poorer. If we are not, as every sensible man knows we are not, the method must be wrong."

The speaker also referred to a prize essay of Prof. Leone Levi on "Depression in Trade"; attributing to him the assumption that an increasing adverse balance of trade is associated with an increase of wealth, and quoting his conclusion that

> "the best way of testing whether the balance of trade is really favorable or unfavorable is to see whether the nation is becoming richer or poorer by its policy."

Twelve years ago few people in England would have dissented from the opinion of Prof. Levi. The conviction was then almost unanimous that, on the whole, it was rather desirable than otherwise that a country should import more than it exported. From 1885 Great Britain continued to increase her so-called adverse trade balances until in 1897 the amount exceeded £157,000,000; that of the period aggregating a sum nearly as large as that triumphantly pointed to by the Association speaker as an evidence of the prosperity of the preceding forty years.

Simply looking at the figures, without asking what they represent, would permit us to agree with Leone Levi's unqualified assumption that an adverse balance of trade is a sign of prosperity. A nation whose income has increased during eleven years to such an extent that it is able to purchase nearly $350,000,000 more in the last than in the first year of the period certainly seems to be prospering; and it would apparently be as absurd to assume that the increasing expenditure was a bad sign as it would be to infer that the improved style of living of a merchant was proof that his business was not doing well.

But, despite the evidence of increasing ability to buy, Englishmen are unquestionably alarmed about the future of their country. Such

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articles as that on "The Future of British Trade," in the "Fortnightly Review" for November, 1897, betray the fact incontestably. The writer, J. B. C. Kershaw, F.I.C., voices the belief of a large class in England that trade supremacy is slipping away from that country, and that with its disappearance will come a loss of *prestige* which will culminate in the destruction of the political power of Great Britain.

The views of Mr. Kershaw are not wholly pessimistic. He thinks that imperial federation would do much to stay the process of decay which he describes: he even believes that such a union as he advocates would rehabilitate England. His figures, showing the possibility of colonial expansion, are interesting; but, unfortunately for Great Britain, they proceed on the assumption that, in the event of an understanding which would secure for the Empire a *Zollverein*, the Colonies would always be willing to remain dependent upon England for their supplies of manufactured articles, and that, if they were so inclined, sufficient trade would be afforded to permit England to maintain the rate of manufacturing expansion which he says is essential to the continuance of British prosperity.

Mr. Kershaw brushes aside the theory of Leone Levi and his school regarding the balance of trade, by pointing out that England's excess of imports over exports merely represents a greater dependence upon foreign trade. He calls attention to this fact:

"The United States and Germany both produce a very large proportion of their own food supply, whilst Germany has for some years practically supplied the whole of her home demand for manufactured goods, and the United States is following in her footsteps in this respect."

On the other hand, he says:

"The United Kingdom . . . produces a very small proportion of its food requirements, and has ceased . . . to supply the whole of the home demand for manufactured goods. The values of the imports and exports per head for the latter country are, therefore, necessarily much greater than the corresponding figures for the two former; and the difference is not a measure of greater commercial prosperity, but *of our greater dependence upon foreign trade.*"

The italics are those of Mr. Kershaw, who follows up this statement of the case with the assertion:

"If the United Kingdom is to maintain even its present level of prosperity under the present conditions of population and of manufacture, it is absolutely necessary that its export trade should increase in value by about £2.6 millions annually."

This, he shows, England is failing to do. He says:

"In the period 1880–1895 the United Kingdom and Germany have increased their populations by 4.6 and 7.0 millions respectively; their export trade shows no corresponding expansion, but an absolute decline."

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As previously remarked, Mr. Kershaw seems to fancy that an imperial *Zollverein* would remedy the trouble, and so greatly stimulate manufactures that the condition which he regards as essential to the future prosperity of the United Kingdom might be maintained for some time to come. But, while he does not overlook the possible effects of American rivalry, he ignores certain facts which, had he fully considered them, might have impressed him with the idea that no device can be resorted to which can possibly avert from England a doom that he suggests may be brought about by an entirely different cause.

Singular as it may seem to those economists who have unhesitatingly accepted the theory that nothing can be more desirable than the enlargement of the capital of a nation, there are abundant signs that the colossal holdings of Englishmen in foreign countries will ultimately cause the destruction of the manufacturing industry of their own land, as it has already caused the destruction of its agriculture. This seems paradoxical: but positive evidence of the mischief already worked can be easily furnished; and a mere statement of the outlook for the future will show how great really is the menace to the manufacturing industry of England.

J. Thorold Rogers, in his course of lectures on the "Economic Interpretation of History," delivered some ten years or more ago, stated that the amount of foreign debt held in England was enormous. He said that in Stock Exchange securities there was known to be at that time at least $10,000,000,000 held as English property; and he called attention to the fact that, in addition to this, English houses of business were settled in most countries, and that the profits due from them were part of the indebtedness paid by foreigners for the use of British capital.

This statement of the English professor of economics has generally been deemed a very conservative one; and by some the amount owing to England is estimated as at least $15,000,000,000. This latter sum, if producing an average of 4 per cent, would about account for the ability of England to meet the annual trade balances against her, which have averaged more than $500,000,000 for several years past, and, as already pointed out, actually reached $785,000,000 in 1897.

The question which these facts suggests is: In what manner will the outside world continue to meet its obligations to English creditors?

So long as there was reasonable ground for entertaining the belief that Great Britain was destined by nature and by the aid of large aggregations of capital to remain the workshop of the world, the problem seemed a simple one to economists. They had no difficulty in construct-

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ing on paper a system of exchange by which England would obtain for her manufactured articles the raw and food products of other countries. Until within the past few years, the results seemed to harmonize admirably with the theory referred to. England continued to receive her supplies of raw and food products more and more cheaply, at the same time expanding her exports of manufactured articles. But the rapidity with which her wealth was acquired excited other nations to emulate her example,—with what success may be learned by consulting the figures of production furnished by Mulhall and other statisticians.

Mr. Kershaw dwells at some length on the growth of competition in the East, under which term he embraces Russia, India, China, and Japan; but he thinks that manufacturing industries will establish themselves slowly in all those countries except Japan.

Why he did not include Russia with Japan it would be difficult to say. The evidence of her progress in this direction is, if anything, more marked than that of Japan. In 1880 the Russian production of pig-iron was 448,000 tons: in 1893 it had increased to 1,137,000 tons. The coal output during that interval rose from 3,289,000 tons to 7,437,000 tons. The textile industry, especially that of cotton, has been very prosperous, the consumption of raw cotton in Russian mills increasing in twelve years from 292,000 cwts. to 1,225,000 cwts.

The condition of manufacturing in Russia has been pronounced by competent Englishmen to be such as to suggest the early monopolization of the home market by the productions of the workmen of the Empire, and the invasion of adjoining Asiatic markets in the near future. Indeed, the English are already feeling this competition. Francis Edward Crow, British Vice-Consul at Teheran, in an article in the "Nineteenth Century" for January, 1897, on "English Enterprise in Persia," states explicitly that the Russians, the Germans, and the Belgians are gaining the upper hand in that country; and John Foster Fraser, in the "Contemporary Review" for July, 1897, tells how British exports to the Shah's dominions, which aggregated £2,000,000 in 1889, had fallen in 1896 to £470,000. In discussing the possibilities of future competition in Persia, this writer says:

"I leave Russia out of the account, not because Russia should not be reckoned with, but because she is so infinitely ahead of us that comparison is unnecessary."

When we seek for information concerning the progress made by Russia in other parts of the Orient, we find that it has been equally great, and that the two other countries mentioned by Vice-Consul Crow—Germany and Belgium—are assisting the great Slav empire in

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cutting the ground from under the feet of the manufacturers of the United Kingdom. This being the case, there is warrant for the apprehension expressed by Kershaw, that England's trade in the East, which had an aggregate value of £83,000,000 in the years between 1893–95, is endangered. He says this is the most important division of the English export trade, and that, therefore, the growth of manufactures in Russia, India, China, and Japan cannot be regarded with equanimity.

If the expansion of the manufacturing industries in the countries named is a cause for disquiet, the marvellous development of Germany and of the United States is regarded as a positive menace. Those who keep posted on such affairs know that the German commercial invasion of England has created a mild panic, and has called forth innumerable prescriptions for the evil, all of which are unmistakably quack remedies. Who cannot fail to recognize as absurd the assumption that the relatively greater progress of Germany in the manufacturing industries is due to the superior technical education of her working-men?

The readiness with which Englishmen now abase themselves is in such marked contrast to the offensive tone of superiority adopted by English writers of thirty or forty years ago, that it compels the belief that their judgment is as bad now as it was when the United Kingdom was riding on the highest wave of manufacturing prosperity. Herbert Spencer, in the heyday of England's commercial supremacy, in discussing what he was pleased to regard as the transference of industrial skill from the Continent to England ("Social Statics," p. 217), asked: "How happens it, then, that we have now reversed the relationship?" He answered his own question thus:

> "Manifestly the change is due to difference of discipline. Having been left in a greater degree than others to manage their own affairs, the English people have become self-helping and have acquired great practical ability; while, conversely, that comparative helplessness of the paternally governed nations of Europe, illustrated in the above facts, commented upon by Laing in his 'Notes of a Traveller,' and by other observers, is a natural result of the state superintendence policy."

It is incredible that the swinging back of the pendulum of ability to the Continental side—which all Englishmen who are advocating technical education are ready to admit has taken place since Mr. Spencer wrote the above passage—should be due to the creation of schools by the Germans, the French, and the Belgians. No one will believe that the British artisan has deteriorated during the past twenty-five years. It is as absurd to assume that this is the case as it was for a recent English review writer to argue that the ruin of the British farmer was attributable to the lack of agricultural colleges in Great Britain.

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The benefits of technical education are not to be despised; but it is manifestly erroneous to hold up a country like the United States as an example for English farmers because the General Government and the States provide funds liberally for the purpose of disseminating useful information and for the maintenance of agricultural colleges. Whatever our system may accomplish for us in the future, no sensible critic will urge that our agricultural colleges and bureaus have already increased our skill to such an extent that we can claim superiority over the English in the tilling of the soil. Until the American statistics of production show a better result than an average of thirteen bushels of wheat per acre, some other explanation must be found of the woes of the British farmer—who easily takes forty-five bushels of the same cereal from a similar quantity of land—than the alleged better methods due to the superior information and education of his Transatlantic rivals.

If this explanation be sought for, it may be easily found; but English writers, whether they belong to either the pessimistic or the optimistic school, are indisposed to seek for it because they instinctively recognize that the answer will disclose the fact that the decay of English manufactures is as inevitable as that of English agriculture. They have so long hugged the delusion that the markets of the world are illimitable, that they have quite overlooked the fact that the capacity of man to produce is scarcely conceivable; while, with our present defective system of distribution, consumption increases at a snail-like pace.

Had the idea that Great Britain was formed by nature to be the workshop of the world, which once prevailed, and which found expression in the earlier editions of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," proved sound, there would be no problem of the future of English trade. But the assumption has since been shown to be false; and the more rational opinion, based on facts, now prevails, that there are many peoples as capable as the English, and many lands, with far greater resources, whose inhabitants are able to supply their own needs, and ready to struggle for an opportunity to furnish less enterprising populations with the relatively few things which they require, but have not the energy or the ability to produce for themselves.

The origin of the belief that England was destined to be the world's workshop is not difficult to trace. It arose from the mistaken notion that the possession of an immense capital gave to its British owners an advantage which could not be overcome. This curious delusion was buttressed by an elaborately developed economic theory that all artificial attempts to create an industry must prove unprofitable, and, there-

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fore, ultimately unsuccessful. There is no point upon which the average follower of the Manchester school was more positive than this; and nothing has ever been more signally refuted.

Artificial methods have succeeded in this country in developing its resources enormously; and these results have been accomplished largely through the aid of the capital of the people whose economists have been diligently teaching that manufactures and commerce cannot be stimulated by state aid. That the capital loaned us by Englishmen greatly facilitated the development of manufactures in the United States, and assisted in building up industries whose colossal proportions alarm the British, is quite certain; and that they have reason to regard with apprehension—perhaps with a stronger sentiment—the outcome of their efforts to obtain profit at our expense seems almost indisputable.

In order to comprehend the extent of the menace to which Great Britain is now subjected by American industry, thus fostered and aided, we may profitably study the statements made by an eminent English authority, Mr. J. Stephen Jeans, in an article, entitled "Future Supremacy in the Iron Markets of the World," which appeared in the "Engineering Magazine," November, 1897. In this paper Mr. Jeans frankly admits that the United States enjoys advantages in the production of iron "which are unapproached in Great Britain, but which happen to be at once vital and fundamental." These advantages consist in tremendous bodies of ore, easily accessible, and carrying a higher percentage of iron than the best English ores; the result being that

"under present conditions, pig-iron can be made at Pittsburg for less than 35 shillings per ton, or, approximately, 10 shillings per ton below its estimate cost in Europe."

In addition to these inexhaustible deposits of ore, Mr. Jeans says, we have inaugurated processes of manufacture on such a scale that those of England seem dwarfed. The operations of one American concern are described in this portentous manner:

"The Carnegie company alone produces nearly 2,000,000 tons of pig-iron per annum, which is almost as much as the total joint output of Germany, France, and Belgium thirty years ago, and more than the total iron output of the United States up to the year 1872. The same works produce annually about 1,000,000 tons of Bessemer steel ingots and 650,000 tons of rails,—figures which exceed the annual output of all the works in Great Britain up to 1880,—and the same firm has lately made arrangements to produce at Homestead about 1,000,000 tons of open-hearth steel annually, which is more than the total open-hearth steel output of France, Belgium, and Germany combined, and considerably more than the total output of this description of steel in the United States, as a whole, up to 1894. . . . This gigantic corporation does not stand alone. The Illinois Steel Company has also much larger resources of production than any concern in Europe; and so also has the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company in another and not less interesting region.

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Of corporations in the second rank, but still important and formidable, the number is legion."

It is not necessary in this connection to discuss Mr. Jeans's peculiar views regarding the effects of Protection in bringing about this result. That phase of his subject may be dismissed with a reference to his conclusion, that for the iron industry, at least, "the United States requires the shackles of protection no longer," and to his pertinent addition: "I am disposed to doubt whether the same remark is equally true of European countries."

There are others who share Mr. Jeans's misgivings. For a while it was believed in England that the recovery of the United States from the industrial depression which began in 1893 would restore prices and profits to manufacturers, and that they would for a long time to come be engaged in meeting the demands of a constantly expanding home market. But this idea is now being reluctantly abandoned; and competent observers, such as Mr. Jeans, do not hesitate to say that henceforth, for the reasons above enumerated, the United States must be looked upon as a powerful competitor in the iron markets of the world.

Mr. Jeans occasionally ventures to hope that the effects of the example set by enterprising manufacturers of the United States will not be lost upon Englishmen; and he even intimates that imitation of American methods, which would involve the abandonment of systems long in vogue in Great Britain, may do something to save the situation for the latter country. A careful reading of his whole article, however, conveys the unmistakable impression that he already sees that the prodigious home market, which a population of 73,000,000 affords, has called into existence the enormous works which he describes, and that the cheapness of the articles produced by them is due primarily not to the superiority of the American artisan over the English, but to the abundance of the raw material of manufacture and its better quality and to the fact that everything in America is done on a vast scale.

In short, Mr. Jeans has a dim perception of a fact which ought to be clearly perceived by every one, but is missed by many. He sees in a way that, all things else being equal, the biggest country having the biggest consuming population must have the biggest manufactories, and that the larger the factories, the cheaper the things produced. Far more significant than the admissions of Mr. Jeans are some remarks recently made by Ernest E. Williams, the author of "Made in Germany," in the course of which he stated that the optimistic statisticians of England, when declaring that between 1894 and 1895 the total export

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of domestic produce showed an increase of £3,000,000, had overlooked the fact that the export of coal during that period had increased by £7,000,000.

Mr. Williams justly argues that an increase of that nature is a positive drawback, as it means an impairment of the future ability of Englishmen to compete with regions which have not exhausted their supplies of fuel. He says:

"Every ton of coal extracted from our coal-fields implies a permanent loss of wealth to that amount. The coal doesn't grow again . . . When you send it away to the foreigner to feed his factories, which destroy or injure your factories, and take in return from him food-stuffs and manufactures . . . you are letting your land deteriorate: your people are forgetting in the gloom of the coal-mines how to till the soil and feed themselves, and are not thereby doing much to advance their health and happiness."

This is one phase of the Coal question; and the point made by Mr. Williams, that a country whose fuel resources are diminishing rapidly is making a mistake in felicitating itself upon increasing sales of coal to rivals, seems sound. There is no question that the exports of British produce, which showed an increase of £3,000,000 in 1894–95 (they have fallen off since that date), do not afford ground for congratulation, when the shipment of £7,000,000 worth of coal to rivals is taken into consideration. But there is another aspect in which the matter may be viewed that makes a still more damaging exhibit.

Carlton Bellairs, in a thoughtful article which appeared in the Hong Kong "China Mail" of September 18, 1897, calls attention to the intimate relation between the growth of the English shipping industry and the expansion of British coal exports. In 1896, he tells us, the total exports of coal from the United Kingdom reached 44,200,000 tons. This constituted 84.7 per cent of the entire export business of Great Britain in the year named; iron forming 6.9 per cent, and leaving a margin of 8.4 per cent, which consisted of manufactured articles that, like the iron, had been worked up by the power derived from the coal. Commenting on these figures he says:

"We see, then, that coal enters into practically the whole of our exports, and probably forms the cargo of over 50 per cent of the tonnage cleared from the United Kingdom."

With the further reflections of the writer, referring chiefly to the distribution of these exports of coal, we are not concerned. Our chief interest lies in the unmistakable showing that the greater part of the English carrying trade is directly or indirectly dependent upon the ability

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of that country to continue supplying rival peoples with coal. In other words, be the deductions of the author of "Made in Germany" never so sound, the evil he points out cannot be corrected except by imperilling England's greatest industry—the ocean-carrying trade.

Should the conviction seize the English that it is inadvisable to continue the export of coal, or should the rising price of fuel in the United Kingdom make it impossible to compete with other countries having great coal-measures, the tonnage of England employed in the foreign carrying trade would at once shrink to less than half of its present proportions. The writer I have quoted simply discusses the outbound freight question; but it requires very little knowledge of the subject to discern the fact that the exports of coal make it possible for British ship-owners to bring back to England raw materials and other commodities at a much lower rate than they could if they had a cargo one way only.

This being the case, it is scarcely conceivable that any advice which Mr. Williams or any other alarmist may give, no matter how forceful, will be acted upon. England must continue to ship coal, although her economists may be perfectly conscious that while doing so she is burning her candle at both ends. But, while there may be no voluntary cessation of the English coal-export business, competition may compel it. How soon this competition will come no one can precisely tell: that it is imminent all competent observers agree.

The phenomenal development of the coal-measures of the United States indicates that the present century will hardly be closed before we shall enter the lists as a rival of England for this trade. In 1860 the output of coal in Great Britain was 84,042,698 tons: twenty years later the product of the United States was reported at only 71,481,570 tons. Since that date there has been a phenomenal expansion in this country; while the rate of increase has only been moderate in the United Kingdom. In 1893, according to the report of the United States Geological Survey, our output was 182,352,774 short tons, or an increase of 110,871,204 tons as compared with 1880; while Great Britain's increase was less than 41,308,056 tons, her output being 146,-969,469 tons in 1880 and 188,277,525 tons in 1894.

Practically, the whole of the phenomenal increase of this country was absorbed for domestic use, our exports at present approximating 4,000,000 tons only; but all the signs point to a changing condition. Many improvements have been made in mining which have a tendency to accelerate production at a faster rate than we have developed the

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ability to consume; and we may now look forward to a rapidly increasing coal-export trade. That the effect will be to stimulate ocean-carrying trade under the American flag goes without saying; and that many of the incidental benefits, hitherto enjoyed by England because of her practical monopoly of our foreign shipping business, will be transferred to us can hardly be doubted.

Should there be any such development of our coal-mines during the next thirteen years as was witnessed during the thirteen years 1880–1893, the consequences would be destructive to England in another way. We have the testimony of Mr. Jeans that, in spite of the high rate of American wages, our rolling-mills are conducted infinitely more cheaply than those of England; and his evidence is amply corroborated by the researches of the London "Iron and Coal Trades Review," which recently printed a table showing that the estimated average cost of producing a ton of Bessemer pig-iron was £2 9*s.* 6*d.*, in the Cleveland district of England, as against £1 17*s.* 6*d.* in Pittsburg.

The inevitable outcome of this condition, combined with the demand for colliers, will be to develop an American shipbuilding industry of the same colossal proportions as the iron and steel industries described by Jeans, and which will be able to produce ships as cheaply as iron and steel are now produced by the United States.

But it will perhaps be argued that these developments may proceed and that England may still prosper. Those who maintain this view will doubtless point to the continued expansion of British industries while those of Germany, Russia, the United States, and other countries have been growing so rapidly, and will deduce from these facts the opinion that such a state of affairs may continue indefinitely. But such a conclusion is fallacious, and entirely ignores the capacity of civilized man to produce. Not long since an article appeared in the "Locomotive Fireman's Magazine," in which the writer practically demonstrated that

> "the present producing capacity of the world is such, by the aid of improved machinery, that, if operated to its full extent ten hours per day, sufficient can be produced in six months to supply the world's demand for one year."

This by no means overstates the case; and the fact makes it clear that the struggle for the world's markets is sure to become more and more intense. In this coming struggle England will be seriously handicapped. Her position as a great creditor nation will not inure to her advantage. On the contrary, it will largely contribute to her undoing.

Keeping in mind the admissions made by Jeans and others, and assuming that what has been accomplished in the iron and steel industry

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is likely to be achieved by Americans in other branches, we may reasonably assume that in the very near future the cheapest things we shall be able to offer our English creditors in satisfaction of our obligations will be manufactured articles.

The rapid accumulation of capital and the steady growth of population in the United States will tend to promote the expansion of our manufacturing industries; and in the near future we shall be the keenest bidders for our own raw and food products. When that time arrives England will be compelled to accept manufactured articles from us in payment of our debts. The consignments to Great Britain of pig-iron, tools, and other products of our workshops will increase in volume; and the shipments of raw materials will decline because English manufacturers will not be able to bid for them in competition with us.

The writers of the Manchester school were astute enough to see that the great essential to the maintenance of English manufacturing prosperity was cheap supplies of raw products and food. They tried to create the impression that a condition which would permanently secure for England such an advantage would be beneficial to the whole world; but the theory was rejected, for the twofold reason that its acceptance involved dependency upon Great Britain, and because it was plainly perceived that no country could increase in wealth if it elected to depend upon agriculture.

The result of the failure to accept the view of the Cobden school has been to multiply manufactures over the face of the earth. Even the Orient is now struggling toward industrial independence. Japan and India have already made great strides; and China will soon be heard from. On the occasion of the visit of Li Hung Chang to England, he declared that it would be his future policy to inculcate in the minds of his countrymen the idea that power and wealth were attainable only by modern industrial methods, and that it would be his aim to make China, like England, the workshop of the world.

If all the countries now eager to imitate the example of Great Britain persevere, it is easy to foresee the consequences. That they will do so no rational person will question. That the result will be the decadence of England is certain. The $15,000,000,000 owing by foreigners to the creditor classes of England will be paid; but the payments will not be made in raw materials and food, as they chiefly are at present. England's imports of manufactured articles, which are already large, will continue to increase; and the exports of the same will just as steadily decline: the process has already begun. What this means need

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hardly be explained. It is only necessary to remark that the conditions are such that it will be impossible for England to hold her own. That she can expand her exports by £2,600,000 annually—the rate of increase which Kershaw says is imperatively necessary to maintain her "present level of prosperity under the present conditions of population"—is inconceivable.

What then? The answer is furnished by Mr. W. H. Mallock in an article which appeared in THE FORUM for August, 1896, on "Altruism in Economics." Mr. Mallock was pointing out the inevitable results of the exhaustion of the English coal-fields. He did not approach the subject from the standpoint of practicability, but rather from that of the speculative geologist who estimates that so many tons of coal may still be extracted from the measures of the United Kingdom. He confronted the possibility of the exhaustion of these measures, and said:

> "If the coal of the United Kingdom became exhausted, and its trade declined like that of Venice, it would be absurd to say that its existing population of forty millions had a right to live in a country which could not then support fifteen. The more energetic of the superfluous inhabitants would emigrate of their own accord; the less energetic would have to be deported somehow."

That the effect of the practical inability of England to employ her coal profitably would be precisely the same as that which would be produced by the exhaustion of her mines is obvious. If, then, other nations, with cheaper coal and other raw materials, force the abandonment of work in the expensively conducted mines of the United Kingdom, the consequences foreshadowed by Mallock must ensue.

That the causes herein described are rapidly bringing such a *dénoûment* is the judgment of every observer whose mind is unclouded by the sophistries of the economic school, which have long deluded a great part of the world into believing that it is impossible permanently to promote manufacturing industry by a resort to artificial methods, and which have successfully disguised the fact that capital knows no nationality, has no patriotism, and seeks profit even if it involves its own destruction in the effort.

JOHN P. YOUNG.

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KOREA AND THE KOREANS.

THE little empire of Korea stands in the centre of the Russia-China-Japan triangle, and thus, by virtue of her position, merits more attention than the extent of her territory, the number of her people, or the volume of her commerce, would warrant.

It is said that, when a company of Tartar horsemen capture one of the enemy, they not infrequently draw him far into the wilderness, bury him to the neck in the ground, stamp the earth down firmly about him, place a bowl of food and a bowl of water immediately before his face, and then leave him to die of hunger or sunstroke or to be torn by wolves. Whether this accurately illustrates the position of the Empire of Korea to-day, it will be the object of this paper briefly to inquire.

First, the captive has been carried so far from his own familiar locality as to be effectually lost. Second, he is bound hand and foot, and is quite incapable of motion. Third, the necessities of life and the fruits of industry are placed, as if in mockery, before his face. And, finally, his captors have left him entirely to his own resources.

Since the twelfth century before Christ, Korea has been continuously under the domination of some one of her neighbors. From the time when the great sage, Kija, passed over with his five thousand followers into the Korean peninsula, upon the fall of the corrupt Shang dynasty in China (1122 B.C.), every Korean dynasty has acknowledged the suzerainty of its great patron, China. From the very first, Chinese law, literature, art, religion, dress, and almost everything else Chinese except the spoken language, were forced upon her. About the beginning of our era the written Chinese character came into common use in Korea through the influence of Chinese refugees. This in itself has constituted the strongest bond between Korea and China; for, through its agency, the whole drift of Korean thought has been turned China-ward, and her ideals have been cast in Chinese moulds.

Whatever may be said for or against the type of civilization engendered in China through the domination of these ideals, they surely have proved disastrous to Korea. It could not have been otherwise. Had the Koreans been possessed of the same mental characteristics that dis-

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tinguished the Chinamen, and had their temperament received the same adjustment, then similar ideals would have worked out similar results; but, while the Chinaman is eminently phlegmatic and utilitarian in his thought and imagination, the Korean is possessed by nature of a far greater degree of ideality. He stands half-way between the phlegmatic Chinaman and the sanguine Japanese, just as humor stands half-way between stolidity and frivolity, avoiding with equal caution the pessimism of the one and the optimism of the other. Such the Korean is by nature—a golden mean. But what is he by training and education? The ponderous literature of China has lain upon him like an incubus; and he has had neither the dogged endurance to master it nor the courage to discard it. The result is a cowardly compromise whereby he strives to gloss over his actual illiteracy by a pretence of Chinese scholarship. That he is not an utterly willing slave to the written Chinese character is shown by the three great protests which Korea has made against it, in the fourth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, respectively; the first two being systems of diacritical marks to make intelligible the order of arrangement of the Chinese sentence, and the last, the invention of the Korean alphabet, which, for simplicity and range of phonetic power, has no superior. Yet these protests have been overruled; and the Chinese character is still master of the situation.

In the realm of religion the vassalage of Korea to Chinese ideals is still more marked. Confucianism, while apparently satisfactory to a man utterly devoid of imagination,—an instrument to be used in the necessary work of unifying masses of population, by anchoring them to the dead bones of their ancestors,—can be nothing less than contemptible to a man possessed of actual humor. What has preserved the uniform political solidarity of the Chinese Empire during the last three thousand years? Just two things; viz., the sacred ideograph and the ancestral grave. Confucianism is no religion. It is simply patriarchal law. That law, like all civil codes, received its birth and nutriment from the body politic of China by natural generation. But the Korean belongs to a different intellectual species; and thus the law, which was bone of China's bone and flesh of her flesh, was even less than a foster-child to Korea. Thus it is that, while Confucianism holds nominal sway in Korea, it neither satisfies her religious wants nor survives on the plea of political necessity. The utter lack of mysticism in the Confucian cult makes it to the Korean a religion only in the sense that it binds him to China, not to the Creator. In other words, Korea is in a state of religious servitude, wherein is no love, but only blind habit.

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Buddhism, on the other hand, stands at the opposite pole to Confucianism. It is the most mystical of all cults outside the religion of the Nazarene. For this reason it is that Japan became such a stronghold of Buddhism. While Confucianism leaves nothing to the imagination, Buddhism leaves everything. The strong idealism of the Japanese surrendered to it; and we may well believe that, when Buddhism is finally driven to bay, it will not be at Lassa, the home of the Lamas, but at Nara or at Nikko. Here, again, the rationally emotional temperament of the Korean escaped permanent contamination. While Confucianism contained too little mysticism for him, Buddhism contained too much; and so, while nominally accepting both, he never made them a real part of himself. To be sure, Buddhism was once the fashion. It budded in the days of the ancient kingdom of Silla; and during the days of the Wang dynasty (A.D. 918–1392) it blossomed and came to fruition. But it was the Dead Sea's fruit of ashes. Over the wreck of the useless cult the present dynasty stepped into power; and since that time Buddhism has been merely tolerated in Korea. No Buddhist monk is entitled to the full privileges of citizenship; and the monasteries that still survive are literally the poor-houses of the land. It is true that the people not infrequently require the services of a monk; but it is in the same way that a North American Indian consults his medicine-man, or a Kaffir his fetich. In other words, when a Korean makes any genuine religious demonstration, he reverts to his aboriginal Shamanism, though it be thinly veiled behind a Buddhistic cowl.

Korea's surrender to Chinese ideals extends to the details of common life. Her laws of marriage and divorce, of heredity and primogeniture, of contracts and obligations, bear the impress of the Chinese seal. Even since the attainment of complete independence the assumption of imperial titles, and the erection of an imperial altar to Heaven, bear witness to the shackles which she wears beneath her silks.

Now this has resulted in the loss of all spontaneity and originality in Korean thinking. To imitate well has been so long the summit of her ambition that she has forgotten what may lie beyond this contracted horizon. The faculty for producing a constantly ascending series of ideals has lain so long dormant that the question might arise whether it is not dead.

In thus probing to the very bottom of Korea's condition, we find that, like the captive led far away from his own familiar place, Korea has been drawn far away from the goal to which her natural endowments and her peculiarities of temperament would have led her. And, like the

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captive, she has also had the hard soil of uncongenial custom and incongruous law trampled down about her until she can stir neither hand nor foot.

It was not until the year 1894 that China's political suzerainty came to a definite end, and the reins of power passed over to Japan. The latter hastened to disavow any intention of claiming suzerain rights over Korea; but, in fact, she laid a heavier hand upon her than China had ever done. China had been content with a moral domination, which did not require the show of force. Japan, on the other hand, while upholding the actual independence of the country, gave advice in such mandatory terms, and followed it up with such show of force, that the Koreans, to whom appearances mean much, found it far more galling than the less ostentatious patronage of China. In reality Japan was then, as she is to-day, Korea's only genuine friend. She laid before her a scheme for good government,—a code of laws that protected both king and people in the enjoyment of their respective rights. She tried to impress upon the Koreans the value of equitable laws, and in so doing displayed before their eyes some of the highest fruits of independent enlightened government. But, like our buried captive, Korea was utterly unable to partake of the tempting viands. She was bound so firmly by immemorial custom as to be unable to put forth her hand and take them. She was invited to set to and eat her fill of these first fruits of Western civilization; but all she could do was to look with imploring eyes at those who mocked her.

The time came when, in her desperation, she turned to Russia. The great Northern Power took her in hand, and tried to show her how things should be done. She was shown the value of strict discipline in her army and of unimpeachable faithfulness in her officials: but, as we have seen, long centuries of intellectual apathy had killed all power of initiative; and, while she acknowledged the nutritive qualities of the food before her, she had the strength neither of mind nor of heart to grasp and use it. At this point Russia, for some reason known only in the council-chamber of the Czar, lifted her hand from Korea; and, for the first time in her long history, Korea became absolutely independent. China's suzerainty had expired with the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki; Japan's influence disappeared when Korea voluntarily threw herself into Russia's arms; and Russia's leadership ended when, in the spring of 1898, she washed her hands of Korean affairs. And so, like the captive in the midst of the wilderness, with the bowls of food and water immediately before his face, Korea was left alone. She was free.

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There was no one to coerce her, either in this direction or in that. And yet her independence was the bitterest irony of all. Materially enfranchised, she remained a slave in soul,—a slave to Chinese ideals.

It will be pertinent to ask what the probable fate of our helpless captive may be. Apparently, one of three things must happen; viz., (1) one or all of his captors must return and feed him where he lies buried, or (2) he must be digged from his clay prison and set upon his feet, or (3) he must perish where he lies. Even so is it with the Empire of Korea. Either her neighbors, one or all, must reassume the physical mastery, or she must be liberated from the moral and intellectual thraldom which holds her in its grip, or she must suffer the dissolution of anarchy and be finally absorbed by the elements that surround her. Of these three possibilities the middle one is preferable. In the present day the first proposition is inadmissible. Korea is the Turkey of the Far East; and neither of the contiguous empires could dominate her without engendering dangerous jealousy and ultimate war. No two of them together could dominate her; for China, Russia, and Japan are like three original chemical elements for which science has found no amalgamating medium. The third proposition is equally inadmissible; for the civilization of the present day will not stand by and see some fifteen millions of people tear each other piecemeal in civil strife, where no principle is at stake, and action is prompted by selfishness alone.

We are then confined to the second proposition, namely, that Korea must be liberated from her moral and intellectual thraldom. She must be digged from the pit. But how shall this be done? What instrument shall be used in releasing her from the hard-beaten clay? None other than the instrument that was used in digging the pit for her—education. It was a form of education whereby she was brought to her present state; and by no other instrument can she be freed. It has been said that the hypnotist, in liberating his subject from a spell, makes in reverse order the same passes that brought him beneath the spell. In some such way the lessons must be untaught, the spell must be worked backward, until we reach and unearth that power of original and spontaneous growth which, in Korea, was nipped in the bud long centuries ago. The Chinese lesson, which teaches that it is meritorious for a man to squander his entire patrimony in the funeral obsequies of his father, must be untaught by showing—what every Korean in his heart of hearts knows—that the memory of the dead is more

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highly honored by using his legacy in the advancement of truth than by using it to load his grave with funeral baked meats. The Chinese rule, that love of clan comes before love of country, must be negatived by showing that nepotism is political incest, and that it will breed the progeny of incest. The Chinese fallacy, that Confucianism can in any sense satisfy the religious instinct of man, must be exploded by showing that no religion is properly so called unless it can conduct the soul at least one step beyond the door of death, unless it can propose some solution of the Great Mystery.

But some one exclaims: "This will take time. Decades must pass before this can be accomplished. Japan should be taken as a model; and as she leaped forth into the light of civilization fully armed, like Minerva from the head of Jove, so must China and Korea do." To such I would answer: "Do you not know that feudalism is liberty *in embryo*, that feudalism is the precursor of enlightenment? Take a map of the world, and show me a single land that has been prevailingly feudalistic that is not enlightened to-day. There is not one. Show me a single land that has been prevailingly despotic that is not despotic to-day. You cannot find one. Japan, having passed through the chrysalis state of feudalism, burst from her husk in a single night; but shall we, therefore, complain if Korea, the inchoate, the egg, finds it impossible to dispense with the process of incubation? Neither China nor Korea has been prevailingly feudalistic; and, for this reason, neither can benefit by the lessons which feudalism always teaches. It must be a system of patient teaching, a *Kindergarten* where object-lessons follow each other in such careful sequence that not one step is missed."

Would you take our half-buried and exhausted captive by the neck, and drag him by force from his living grave? No more should you expect to drag Korea forth from her moral enslavement, until you have loosened the clay which surrounds and binds her.

HOMER BEZA HULBERT.

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POWERS OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

MR. MILTON H. SMITH, President of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company, contributes to the "North American Review" for January an article upon the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in reply to something which I had previously said upon the same subject.[1] I have no desire to repeat or fortify anything in my original article; but Mr. Smith suggests certain phases of the question which were not considered therein and which are both interesting and important as bearing upon the matters under consideration. The subject itself is one of paramount importance and one which, as Mr. Smith suggests, must continue to receive attention until it is disposed of in some form or other. This, together with the fact that popular knowledge of it is extremely limited, must be my excuse for trespassing again upon the attention of the public.

The first proposition maintained by Mr. Smith is that the amendments suggested by the Cullom Bill, in respect to the making of rates, would entirely reverse the theory upon which the Act to Regulate Commerce was originally based.

Railroad Commissions may, as Mr. Smith says, be divided broadly into two classes, viz., advisory commissions, and commissions with power.

The advisory commission investigates and recommends, but has no power to grant relief. The Massachusetts State Commission was the earliest, and has perhaps been the most successful, of the advisory sort. That body may undertake investigations into the operations of the railroads under its jurisdiction. When any departure from proper methods is found, it is the duty of the Commission to "advise" the corporation of its opinion in that respect. If the corporation does not act upon this advice, the Commission lays the facts before the Attorney-General, and subsequently, by report, before the Legislature. It has no power to make any order itself for the righting of the wrong.

The commission with power is created for the purpose, not only of

[1] See "The Powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission," in the "North American Review" for November, 1898.

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investigating, but also of correcting transportation abuses. In many of the States these commissions are invested with the power to make rates in the first instance. The Commission of 1878 in the State of Iowa was an advisory commission. In 1888 the Legislature of that State changed the law, and created a commission with power. At the present time the Commission of Iowa prescribes maximum rates in the first instance; and to these rates the railroad companies are obliged to conform.

The Interstate Commerce Act was a compromise between these two theories. The carriers were left free to make their own rates and to manage their own business; but they were required to do this subject to certain important limitations set out in the first three sections of the Act, namely, that the rates which they made should be reasonable and should not create any undue discrimination between individuals, localities, or communities. The Commission, created by that Act, was not given the ratemaking power; but it was given power to make the necessary orders to enforce the provisions of the Act itself. Thus, the eighth section provided that, if any carrier violated the provisions of the Act, the one injured should be entitled to damages, and might proceed to recover the same either by complaint to the Commission or by suit directly in court. The thirteenth section was to the effect that any person, corporation, or society might complain to the Commission of violations of the Act; the fourteenth, that, upon the making of such complaint, the Commission should proceed to inquire into it and should make a report of its findings of fact and its conclusions; the fifteenth, that, in case the Commission found a carrier to be violating the Act, it should forthwith make an order requiring said common carrier "to cease and desist from such violation, or to make reparation for the injury so found to be done, or both," within a time to be specified by the order. By the sixteenth section it was provided "that whenever any common carrier, as defined in and subject to the provision of this Act, shall violate, or refuse, or neglect to obey or perform any lawful order or requirement of the Commission," an application might be made to the Circuit Court of the United States, which should enforce such order, if found to be a lawful and proper one.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Act did not aim to create a mere advisory commission for the purpose of investigating and instituting proceedings in courts of law, as Mr. Smith assumes, but, on the contrary, a commission with power to entertain complaints of violations of the Act and to make orders redressing and correcting such violations; in other words, to enforce by its orders the provisions of the Act, except in

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so far as those provisions were specifically enforced by penalties provided in the Act itself.

The amendments suggested by the Commission, and embodied in the Cullom Bill, would not change the theory of the original Act in this respect. Carriers are still left entirely free to make their own rates and to manage their own business. The only purpose of those amendments is to secure to the public the benefit of the prohibitions which the original Act contained, and to make certain that the rates which are published by the carriers shall be reasonable and free from discrimination; and this is done by providing that when, upon investigation, a rate has been determined to be in violation of the Act to Regulate Commerce, the carrier may be compelled to bring that rate into conformity with such Act.

The original Act provided that all carriers should publish the rates and all those rules and regulations which affect the rates, and should adhere to the tariff as published by them. In changing a rate, therefore, it is necessary to change the rate which has been published by the carrier; in other words, to compel the carrier so to modify its published schedule as may be necessary to make it conform to the law. In order to do this, it is necessary that the Commission should have power to compel the carrier to file and publish a proper schedule; and this power of the Commission must extend to every rate, fare, charge, or facility which is a part of the schedule and which enters into or bears upon the value of the rate to the shipper.

This is the purpose of the language quoted by Mr. Smith from the sixth section. That quotation is repeated here:

"If the Commission is of the opinion that the rates, fares, or charges, as filed and published, or the classification or the privileges, facilities, and regulations published in connection therewith are unreasonable or otherwise in violation of law, it shall determine what are and will be reasonable and otherwise lawful rates, fares, charges, classification, privileges, facilities, or regulations, and shall prescribe the same, and shall order the carrier or carriers to file and publish, on or before a certain day, to take effect on a certain day, schedules in accordance with the decision of the Commission. . . .

A rate, fare, or charge established by the order of the Commission shall not be increased, nor shall a classification, privilege, facility, or regulation so established be departed from, without the consent of the Commission, granted upon application of the carrier after due notice and upon full hearing."

This, Mr. Smith says, gives the Commission plenary power to make the rates for the 180,000 miles of railway in the United States. Mr. Smith carefully refrains from quoting the paragraph which immediately succeeds the matter above given and which reads as follows:

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"Such order of the Commission shall be deemed an administrative order, and shall be subject to the right of review in the carrier hereinafter provided for, and shall be enforced as are other final administrative orders under the sixteenth section by penalty or otherwise."

The sixteenth section gives the carrier a right to review every administrative order of the Commission in the Federal Courts; and, if the amount in dispute exceeds $1,000, the case may be carried to the Supreme Court. If the Court is of the opinion that the order of the Commission was not "a lawful, just, and reasonable one, it shall vacate the order; otherwise it shall dismiss the proceedings in review." The Court has power to suspend the effect of the order pending the proceedings in review.

It will be seen, therefore, that no rate made by a carrier can be changed by the Commission, if the Supreme Court of the United States is of the opinion that the order was not "lawful, just, and reasonable." If Mr. Smith means that every rate, fare, rule, or classification published by the Louisville & Nashville Railroad *might* be changed by an order of the Commission, I answer that this is true; and I further assert that, if it were found upon hearing that every such rate, fare, rule, or classification was in violation of the Act to Regulate Commerce, and if this finding had received the approval of the court of last resort, then each and every one ought to be changed. If Mr. Smith means that these amendments confer upon the Interstate Commerce Commission any power analogous to that possessed by the ratemaking commissions of some States, I answer that this cannot be true. Such an application of the law would be a perversion of both its spirit and its language, and would involve, first, the usurpation of that power by the Commission, and, second, the sanction of that usurpation by the Federal judiciary.

Mr. Smith asserts that the correction of transportation abuses should be left with the courts. Why not? The American people are justly proud of their judiciary. Why not leave these questions to that body? Why create a new tribunal to deal with them?

The fundamental objection is that the courts cannot apply an adequate remedy. The payment of damages is no remedy for an excessive or a discriminative rate, for the reason that the person ultimately injured is not usually the one who pays the rate and who could therefore recover the damages. There are many other reasons why a suit at law can afford no relief for wrongs of this character. Some of those reasons were referred to in my original article; and their correctness has not been challenged by Mr. Smith. They all point to the conclusion,

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that the only remedy for an improper rate is to change the rate itself. That does exact justice to everybody, and injustice to no one. Mr. Smith does not deny this.

Now, the courts of the United States cannot apply this remedy. Under our Constitution their functions are entirely judicial. The Supreme Court holds that to prescribe a rate or any rule or regulation which enters into a rate, is an administrative function belonging properly to the legislative department, with which the Federal courts cannot interfere. When the rate has been prescribed by a commission, the court may say that this rate is not a just and reasonable one; but it cannot say what would be just and reasonable. This is the cardinal reason why the Federal courts cannot be charged with such duty.

There are other reasons of convenience, so to speak, not equally controlling, but still of great significance. The very nature of a court, the character of the questions with which it ordinarily deals, and the manner of dealing with those questions, are such that from the very thing itself it cannot be a satisfactory regulating body. In 1848 the English people began to look about for some means of governmental supervision over its railways; and for this purpose a Bill was proposed in Parliament giving to the courts of England certain powers of control. At that time Lord Chancellor Cottenham said from the woolsack that all of his associate judges except one were decidedly of the opinion that the courts were not the proper body upon which to impose that duty. Nevertheless, the measure passed; and from 1848 to 1873 the only railway supervision in England rested with its judges. This method of regulation proved, however, to be entirely unsatisfactory; and in 1873 a commission was created for the purpose of exercising the above-mentioned functions. The commission, which was at first appointed for a period of four years, was subsequently made permanent; and from time to time its powers have been augmented, but never diminished.

As a rule, it is the great shipper who enjoys the preference, and the small shipper who complains. Between the latter and the railway there can be no legal contest. Ordinarily, he dare not even begin a proceeding, for fear that the little advantage which he has may be taken from him, and that he may be crushed out altogether. Mr. Smith insists that he and the shipper should be left to settle their own difficulties: if the shipper does not like the medicine which is prescribed for him, let him apply in regular course to the courts and obtain his remedy there. Let me, urges Mr. Smith, deal with this gentleman myself. Let me array against the little farm or the little store of my patron the

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$170,000,000 capital and the $20,000,000 revenue of the railroad which I operate, and there will be no serious trouble.

Said a great enemy of Rome, in reference to the conduct of that nation over its subjugated provinces, "She makes desolation, and calls it peace." If all railway regulation were remitted to the courts, quiet would undoubtedly reign along the line of the Louisville & Nashville.

Nothing could more strongly emphasize the impotency of the courts in this respect than the fact, which Mr. Smith himself states, that in no case has a recovery of an excessive freight rate ever been obtained in any court of the United States. Although the wrongs under which the people of this country have labored in the past, by reason of unjust exactions from its railways, have raised up and overturned political parties, and although railway rates have been enormously reduced by the direct enactment of legislatures and the action of commissions, still there is no case on record where the courts have been resorted to for relief.

Mr. Smith asserts that the question of excessive rates is obsolete, that there are no such rates at the present time in the United States. If this be true, it ends the debate; for, if no question of excessive rates exists, then it is the height of folly to spend time in discussing a remedy for such rates.

One of the cases in which the Supreme Court of the United States held that the Commission had no power to prescribe a rate for the future was entitled "Freight Bureau of Cincinnati *v.* Cincinnati, New Orleans, & Texas Pacific Railway and others." That proceeding was one begun by the Freight Bureaus of Cincinnati and Chicago for the purpose of reducing the rates upon all classes of freight from those two cities to eight important cities south of the Ohio River. The Commission held, after full hearing and elaborate consideration, that the rates were excessive, and ordered that they be so reduced as not to exceed a certain amount. No tribunal has ever reversed this finding of the Commission, that these rates are excessive. That question was not passed upon by the Supreme Court of the United States, which merely decided that the Commission had no power to reduce the rate, if it was in fact excessive. This decision, which was announced May 24, 1897, rendered the remedy obsolete; and at the same time all desire to prosecute further that case or any similar one practically ceased. But the question itself is still a living one; and it is a question which affects every wholesale merchant in Chicago and Cincinnati and every consumer in the Southern territory.

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At the date of this decision there were pending before the Commission complaints from the vegetable-growers of Florida that the rates upon their vegetables to Northern markets were too high; from the cotton-raisers of Texas that the rates on cotton from Northeastern Texas to market were too high; from the State of Kansas that the rates on grain from that State to the Gulf were too high; and from the grain-shippers of Iowa that the rates from Northwestern Iowa to Chicago were excessive. There were numerous other cases in which the question of an excessive rate was involved; but the above are cited because they embrace whole States, or large sections of States, as complainants. Can it be said, when the people of Florida, Texas, Kansas, and Iowa are insisting that the rates upon which the staple productions of those States find a market are exorbitant, that the question of excessive freight rates is obsolete? If these people are not entitled to a trial of this question before some tribunal which can administer an adequate remedy, then Mr. Smith is right; otherwise, he is wrong.

Mr. Smith says that cases of undue preference between localities are of more frequent occurrence than those of excessive rates, and that to deal with these cases the Commission does not require additional legislation, since it already has adequate power thereto.

It is, perhaps, true that complaints of undue preference are more numerous than those of excessive rates. It is also true that the Commission has in the past assumed the power to prescribe for the future the relationship in rates, in the same manner that it has assumed to prescribe the absolute rates. It is somewhat difficult, however, to see what distinction can be made between the two kinds of order. Both are administrative orders; both refer to the future; and both, in essence, fix a rate for the future. In the language of the Act itself there is no express warrant for one which does not also apply to the other. While it is probable that the Commission will continue to prescribe the relationship which should exist in rates between communities, for the purpose of correcting an undue preference when found, it is doubtful whether the court, when it has occasion to consider that question, will sustain the contention. This much may be said: If the power already exists, there is no possible harm in reënacting it in language sufficiently plain to remove all doubts. If the power does not exist, then it must be conferred, if these most grievous and oppressive abuses are to be corrected.

The Commission asks the power to prescribe a minimum rate in case, and only in case, this is necessary to correct a preference of that kind; and this power is, in Mr. Smith's mind, particularly inimical to the com-

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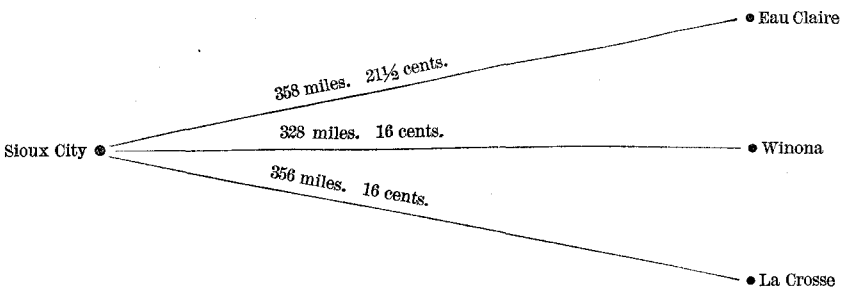
mercial interests of the country. He refers in that connection to the Eau Claire case, so called, which has become somewhat famous, and which is a perfect illustration of the necessity of the power and the extent to which it would ever be used. That case is rather difficult to apprehend in all its details; but the essential features can be very easily stated.

Winona, La Crosse, and Eau Claire are three small cities situated not far apart, at which large quantities of pine lumber are manufactured. Winona and La Crosse are on the Mississippi River; and Eau Claire is upon a branch of that river. The logs which are sawed at these points come from the forests of Wisconsin, and are floated down the rivers to the mills. The market for this lumber is largely found in the Missouri Valley; and the rate to all points known as Missouri River points is the same. At the time of the hearing this rate was 16 cents per 100 pounds from Winona and La Crosse, as against 21½ cents from Eau Claire. Taking Sioux City as a representative point, the distances would be: From Eau Claire 358 miles; from Winona 328 miles; and from La Crosse 356 miles. The difference in rate, upon the minimum basis of 30,000 pounds to the car, would be $16.50 per carload against Eau Claire. The situation and figures will be readily borne in mind by consulting the following diagram, which gives the distances and the rates:



The Chicago, Milwaukee, & St. Paul Railroad transports lumber from all three points to Sioux City. Certain other roads serve Winona and La Crosse, but not Eau Claire. Representatives of Eau Claire began a proceeding before the Commission, alleging that the differential of 5½ cents against that point was an undue preference in violation of the third section of the Act to Regulate Commerce. The Commission, after hearing the case, decided that it was, that the differential ought not to exceed 2½ cents per 100 pounds; and it made an order directing the Milwaukee road to adjust its rates in accordance with this decision. Thereupon

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that road attempted to do this by reducing the rate from Eau Claire to 18½ cents. But no sooner had the Milwaukee road done this, than the Omaha road published a rate from Winona and La Crosse of 13 cents, or 5½ cents below, thereby maintaining the same discrimination; and it announced that, no matter what rate the Milwaukee road might make from Eau Claire, it would make a rate 5½ cents lower from Winona and La Crosse. Hence, it was impossible to remove the discrimination against Eau Claire. If the Commission had possessed the power to prescribe the minimum rate at which the Omaha road should transport lumber from Winona and La Crosse, when that was necessary to enforce its order fixing the relationship of rates between these three points, there would have been no occasion to resort to it. The mere fact that the power existed would have been enough.

Now, Mr. Smith says that it is fraught with great hazard to endow anybody with the power to determine what the relation shall be in rates between these three points. But it manifestly must be determined by some one; and, manifestly, when determined, it does fix the commercial supremacy of these centres. Under the present condition of things how is it determined? By looking into this very case, it appears that for a long time the railways themselves were unable to agree upon this differential, and that they finally referred the question to the arbitration of one George M. Bogue, who made a report, as such arbitrator, and fixed the differential against Eau Claire at 5½ cents. In his report Mr. Bogue stated that the question which he decided was, "What rate will enable each line party to this arbitration to place its fair proportion of lumber in the territory under consideration?" Not, What do the fair interests of Eau Claire require? Not, Where can lumber be manufactured the most advantageously? But simply, What rate will divide up the product of these communities equally between the different lines which serve them?

Every question of this sort is of necessity submitted to the arbitration of somebody. The only doubt is whether the tribunal which decides it shall be one created by the carriers themselves, considering the interests of the carriers alone, in which the influence of the most powerful carrier may dominate, or whether it shall be one created by the Government, which can consider not only the interests of the carriers, but the interests of the communities as well.

Mr. Smith, in treating of this matter of undue preference, inquires whether I am of the impression that it is the business of railways to strangle industrial activity. I am under the impression that railways are operated, as a rule, in such manner as it is fancied will produce the

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best money results, and that if, in the operation of a railway, it is, or is thought to be, for the interest of that railway to foster one industry or locality or individual at the expense of other industries or localities or individuals, it is usually done. Is Mr. Smith of the contrary opinion? And does he mean to intimate that railway self-interest can be safely trusted to abolish railway discrimination?

When the railways not only paid the Standard Oil Company a rebate on every barrel shipped by it, but also paid that company a stated sum for every barrel transported for any other refiner of oil by them, were they or were they not strangling industrial activity? When to-day the carriers make a rate, or impose a regulation, which shuts out from a particular market the competitor of that same company, do they or do they not destroy industrial activity? When certain great trusts receive, in the way of rebates and preferences over ordinary shippers, millions of dollars each year, is that or is that not a stifling of competition? When Mr. Smith himself makes a rate which absolutely determines that business shall be done at a particular trade centre and shall not be done at the outlying point, does he or does he not stifle every opening industry which gasps for existence at the latter place?

It is not charged that these preferences are the result of malice or personal whim. They are supposed to be required by the business necessities of the occasion. My proposition is that the business of railway transportation is so far a function of Government that the United States is bound to see that every individual, every industry, every locality, no matter how humble or how insignificant, enjoys the advantages to which he or it is fairly entitled, and that he or it is not crushed out of existence by the exigencies of competition.

Mr. Smith correctly says that the amendments proposed in the Cullom Bill would radically change in one particular the theory of the original Act, in that under these amendments the orders of the Commission are self-executing, unless reviewed by the carrier.

For want of space, this feature was not discussed in my former article; and the same reason prevents more than an allusion to it now. The original Act provided that the Commission might make orders which the carrier was required to obey; but, if obedience was refused, the only remedy was by proceedings to enforce the order in the courts. The complainant or the Commission might begin suit before the Circuit Court; and, if that court found the order of the Commission a lawful and proper one, it compelled the carrier to obey it. The Cullom Bill provides that the carrier may within thirty days institute proceedings

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before the Circuit Court to review the order of the Commission, but that, unless such a proceeding is begun, the order must be obeyed by the carrier under the penalty named. It will be observed that the question passed upon by the Court in either case is identical. The Commission therefore has no greater power in this respect than before; but it is believed that it would be much more effective.

Actual experience has shown that it requires from three to four years to secure the enforcement of an order by application to the courts. By the time a decision is reached, the occasion for the interference of the Commission has usually ceased, owing to changed conditions. It is of the very essence of regulation that the regulating body shall be able to apply an immediate remedy. No matter how slight the power may be, if it is to be of any service, it must be exercised at once. The railways themselves, in the formation of their own regulating bodies, fully recognize this principle. The Joint Traffic Association, which was formed with peculiar care, illustrates this idea. The affairs of that body were administered by a board of managers. From the decision of these managers an appeal lay in all cases; but pending that appeal the decision of the board was effective. So, if the Interstate Commerce Commission is to exercise any substantial influence over the railway operations of this country, and is to correct, to any appreciable degree, the abuses which it was formed to correct, it must have the ability to put its decrees, in so far as they are proper, into immediate execution.

That body consists of five members, who may be and ought to be selected by reason of their fitness for the position. By daily contact with questions of one kind, they ought to acquire a special knowledge of value in the deciding of those questions. No order is or can be made without an opportunity for the carriers affected to be fully and deliberately heard. If this were a case where the parties could remain *in statu quo*, or where the mere payment of money damages afforded a relief, as in most suits at law, then there would be great propriety in holding that the remedy should in no case be enforced until its propriety had been finally passed upon. But in the matters under consideration damages are not a remedy. The parties cannot be placed *in statu quo*. The injury continues from day to day; and, unless the order is enforced, the complainant has no relief. On the other hand, if the order is enforced, and turns out to be wrong, then the carrier has no relief. Under these circumstances, it seems to be strictly equitable that, when the parties have enjoyed a fair trial before a competent tribunal, the decision of that tribunal shall stand until reversed. It should be noted,

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however, that the court before which proceedings in review are instituted has full power in all cases to suspend the effect of the order in question pending such proceedings, which gives the carrier the fullest protection, in the event of any palpable error upon the part of the Commission.

Massachusetts is often referred to as a State where the people have approached the subject of railway control with great conservatism. It has been already said that the Railway Commission of that State is purely advisory. Some years ago, however, the people found it necessary to correct fancied abuses existing in the transportation of milk, and provided that the Commission might in certain cases fix the rate at which milk should be transported by the can. That Act imposed a penalty upon any carrier refusing to receive and transport milk at the rate established by the Commission.

It is also worthy of note that there is no appeal whatever from the action of that commission in establishing the rate. In the case of the English commission, which has been already referred to, and which enforces its own orders, no appeal is allowed except upon questions of law; while the Cullom Bill grants an appeal upon questions both of law and of fact. Attention is called to this for the purpose of showing that the Cullom Bill was not conceived in any spirit of oppression toward the railways. The purpose of that Bill was to provide an effective method of enforcing the just and beneficent principles of the Interstate Commerce Act; but it was equally its aim to surround the exercise of the powers conferred with every reasonable and proper safeguard to the carriers affected.

In my article in the November "North American Review" I quoted from the testimony of Mr. Smith upon a certain occasion. In the conclusion of his article in the January number of the same review Mr. Smith refers to that examination as an illustration of "the complete lack of judicial temper on the part of the Commission." He asserts that

> "the minds of the Commission were so bent upon obtaining greater power, that they could not resist the temptation to branch off into a lengthy discussion of that topic, which had no possible relation to the subject upon which they were engaged."

My original quotation from the testimony of Mr. Smith was not intended to exhibit him as an individual, but rather as a type. I wish now to state briefly the occasion upon which that examination was held; not to consider whether Mr. Smith's strictures upon the Commission are or are not justified, but to show his attitude as a railroad manager with whom the Government has to deal in its attempts at regulation.

Statistics show that 2,554 railway employees were killed and that

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28,267 such employees were injured in 1892. In that year 378 men were killed and 10,319 were injured in coupling and uncoupling cars alone; and it was believed by many that this great loss of life and limb was very largely due to the fact that railway cars were not equipped with proper devices for coupling cars and controlling trains. The manner in which cars are exchanged between different lines of railway makes it impossible for any one road or any considerable number of roads to make the necessary reforms unless the same devices are adopted upon substantially all railways; and to secure this uniformity it was found necessary to enact a Federal statute. Such a statute was enacted in March, 1893. It was approved by the country as a measure of common humanity; and it passed Congress with but little dissent.

That Act provided that, on or before December 31, 1897, cars used in interstate traffic should be equipped with automatic couplers and with a sufficient number of air-brakes to permit the control of trains from the engine. Lest, however, some carrier might be justifiably in default at that time, it was provided that the Interstate Commerce Commission might, upon application and for cause shown, extend the time within which such equipment should be completed. By December 1, 1897, most of the railways in the country had applied for such an extension; and it was upon the hearing of this application that the examination of Mr. Smith took place.

Some interstate carriers had entirely completed their equipment: nearly all had made substantial progress in that direction. The Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company, of which Mr. Smith is president, is capitalized for $170,000,000, and operates 3,000 miles of railway. It owns a majority of the stock of the Nashville, Chattanooga, & St. Louis Railway, which has a capitalization of $28,000,000, and operates about 1,000 miles of railway. It appeared that up to December 1, 1897, the latter road had equipped but 52 of its cars with the automatic coupler, and but 68 with the air-brake. The Louisville & Nashville Railroad had equipped only 21 per cent of its cars with automatic couplers, and only 14 per cent with the air-brake. On April 1, 1896, three years after the law was passed, the Nashville, Chattanooga, & St. Louis had only 8 cars equipped with automatic couplers, and but 21 with train-brakes; and of the cars then owned by the Louisville & Nashville less than $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent had been fitted with the safety coupler, and less than $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent with the air-brake.

In asking an extension of time, Mr. Smith alleged, as an excuse for this remarkable showing made by his lines, the financial depression

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beginning in 1893. The Nashville, Chattanooga, & St. Louis Railway had during all this time, from 1893 to the date of hearing, paid annual dividends of 4 per cent upon its capital stock. The Louisville & Nashville Company itself had paid no dividends after 1892, but did show a surplus from operation of more than $1,000,000 each year. Mr. Smith was asked why he had not devoted some part of the dividends which were paid by the road which he controlled, and of the money which he had carried to surplus in case of his own company, to a compliance with this statute. In answer he said that he feared unjustifiable interference with the revenues of his road by State and national legislatures. It was with a view to ascertaining the validity of this excuse that the Commission "branched off" into the discussion which so offended Mr. Smith's ideas of propriety.

Now, what was the attitude of Mr. Smith upon this occasion? Here was a law conceived in humanity, enacted with practical unanimity, approved by the whole country; and what says Mr. Smith as to that law? Just this: My first duty is to my stockholders. *Imprimis*, I must earn money for them, no matter how many men I may kill and wound in that operation. To the discharge of that obligation to make money my obedience to the statute of the United States is secondary. And it is this gentleman, upon whom an express statute of the land makes no impression, who asserts that there ought to be an "advisory" commission which shall have power to recommend that he obey the law.

I do not for one moment suggest that Mr. Smith represents the railway sentiment of this country. A majority of railway managers long since recognized the certainty of Government supervision: they are beginning to recognize the necessity for it from their standpoint and to favor the enactment of some just measure.

Neither is it true, as Mr. Smith intimates in his testimony, that the people of the United States desire to confiscate or oppress its railways. Next to agriculture, the railway industry is the most important one in the United States to-day. There can be no national prosperity unless this industry be reasonably prosperous. What the people do desire is such a measure of Government control as will insure the fair and equitable treatment of great and small alike. The problem is a difficult one. Precedents from other countries are of but little avail. A final solution must be through a process of evolution. Out of the ferment and chaos and injustice of to-day will eventually come some proper system. The American people do not always act quickly; but in the end they usually act wisely and justly.

CHARLES A. PROUTY.

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AMERICAN OPPORTUNITIES IN CHINA.

AMERICAN influence abroad is no longer the dream of a visionary crank. More and more our trade demands an outlet; our missionary enterprises assume colossal proportions; freedom, toleration, enlightenment, education, wide as the needs of the human race, are all peculiar features of the American spirit. Our contact, in any form whatever, with any country necessitates political dealings with many countries. The United States, being one of the greatest Powers of the world, must hold relations wherever relations are held by other Powers. Not one continent is exempt. Isolation is not only contrary to the genius of our government, but is an impossibility if our natural rights are to be preserved. If European Powers regard the Far-Eastern Question as of supreme importance, the United States must do the same.

China is a field for study, enterprise, and influence on the part of Americans, as well as of Russians, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans. Having lived in China for more than fifteen years, having associated with the leading mandarins, and being connected with the only institute in China which is international, I not only write from personal conviction as to the new opportunities for Americans, but would explain our exact relations with other nations interested in the Empire. The relations of America with China depend largely on the relations of America with Europe. A question supremely national becomes at once international.

In considering the opportunities of the United States in China we first note political influence. If the Monroe Doctrine means that this country will prevent further encroachment on the American continent by European Powers, will even seek to diminish their existing control, then the reverse seems true; viz., that this country will seek no political control on any other continent. If others are not to meddle with our own country or our continent, we are not to meddle with a country of some other continent. Furthermore, if we are to avoid entanglements with Europe, we must avoid entanglements with European Powers in Asia and Africa.

Whatever may be the logic of our traditional policy, we cannot gain-

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say certain existing facts which indicate impediments to the future political influence of our country in China. While we have been arguing,—or, perhaps I should say, sleeping,—Russia, Germany, France, England, and Japan have secured such political "say" in the affairs of China as to further their commerce or their missions, though not necessarily bringing doom to China's own political domination. None of these countries has assumed a recognized "sphere of influence," still less a political protectorate, in China. Certain ports, exclusive or open, are leased to foreign countries, and certain railroads and mining concessions have been made; but the Chinese mandarins are sagacious enough to recognize no "sphere of influence." Still it is true that these countries have by their action modified our own political standing in China. We must now deal not only with the Chinese authorities, but with the Russian agents in Manchuria, the German in Shantung, the English in Shansi and Central China, and the French in Southern China. So far as our interests are dependent upon political considerations, we are certainly at a disadvantage when compared with other foreigners in different sections of China. Nothing has been done by our Government in a striking way to maintain our political rights in China, as stipulated by treaties with that country. On paper our position is the same as before: really it is lowered.

To modify the above statement, it is well to appreciate the strong hold which our country as such has on the respect of the Chinese rulers, mainly because there is no ambition toward territorial aggrandizement. When it comes to a contest between Americans and other foreign residents in certain parts of China, the Americans will probably lose; but, avoiding any such contests, Americans will be regarded by the Chinese as their best friends.

Second, we note our commercial influence in China. Our country once had great houses and big "hongs" in China. Now Americans are commission agents, or, more often, American goods are sold in China by English or German merchants. American trade with China is still among the largest; but it does not always go to the credit of Americans, nor is it pushed by Americans. American manufacturers close doors because they are overstocked. Instead of doing anything to find a new outlet, they leave it to others, who, as commission agents, sell wherever someone indicates a want. There is plenty of American push, to the degree of over-supply, in America, but a laughable deficiency of push amid the teeming millions of the Orient. European countries have had commercial missions to China; and within the last few months one has

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gone from this country, through the enterprise of the Commercial Museum of Philadelphia.

Whether American goods will sell in China, will depend simply on whether they are brought favorably to the notice of the Chinese and whether our manufacturers will seek to adapt their goods to the special market in China. As the law now stands, other countries cannot prevent the Chinese from purchasing American goods. There will be merely commercial competition, made a little more pressing through political intervention. The Treaty Ports are still open ports; but the country itself, through the demands of European Powers, will not become open, but closed.

At the present time American commerce in China should be more than that of the shopkeeping kind. There are new opportunities for vast speculations and strong syndicates. This is the period of concessions, of organizing for opening up the resources of that large empire. This is more than selling behind a counter. And here Americans are liable to lose a magnificent opportunity. Along with the increased political influence of European countries have come increased commercial privileges. Our political power has failed to defend our commercial interests; and our commercial men have disliked the Chinese so much that they have failed to seize—even to see—the new openings in China at the most opportune hour. Russia has secured both railroad and mining concessions in Manchuria. Germany has secured the same in Shantung. England has secured mining concessions in Shansi, and other privileges in Central China. Both France and England have secured privileges in Southern China. America,—where is she? Two great railroad lines —one between Peking and Hankow; the other between Tientsin and Chinkiang—could have been built by Americans; but, notwithstanding this special opportunity, European nations have pressed forward to secure these privileges for their own people.

Though these great concessions may go to others, there may still be an opportunity for American materials to be used in connection therewith. This will depend on the amount of support which the United States Government and American merchants give to the "open door" policy, which thus far has been advocated by the British Government alone. Already many of the most energetic supporters of British interests abroad have turned from the "open door" policy to the policy of special "spheres of influence." Unless the United States at once actively lends its strength to help maintain the position taken by the British Government in insisting on an open door all over China, in

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accordance with the treaties which China has made with different countries, American commerce will be placed at a disadvantage in the splendid market of that vast population, not by reason of any antipathy of China, but through restrictions imposed upon us by the preëmptive claims of Russia, Germany, Great Britain, and France.

Third, we note our religious influence in China, or, more properly speaking, the influence of American missions. There can be no doubt that, while American commerce has been relatively declining in China, American missions have been relatively increasing, both as regards the number of agents and their scope of influence. The factor of missions is to be reckoned with as much as the factor of trade. Both should be advanced, if American influence in China is to be maintained. American missionaries are established in two-thirds of the provinces; and thus far they have based their rights of residence and protection on the treaties, Imperial edicts, and special regulations made between the American Minister at Peking and the Chinese Foreign Office. In fact, China herself has been inclined to show a large amount of religious toleration; and probably American missionaries are treated with as much real respect and cordiality as those of any other country. Their method of prosecuting work has been so large-minded and beneficial that both rulers and people have, on that account, rather than through any superiority of creed, become more and more friendly.

Other nations have recognized the importance to their political interests of the missionary factor. From the year 1842 France has endeavored to assume the protectorate of all the Roman Catholic missions in China, not because all the missionaries were French, nor because all Frenchmen were of the same faith, but because this protectorate enhanced the reputation of France; and in later years it has proved a most prominent agency for establishing French influence in different provinces of China. When in 1888 Germany assumed the protection of the German Catholic Mission in the province of Shantung it at once became apparent that she sought thereby to promote German interests; and when last year two German priests were massacred, Germany, by way of redress, secured promptly and effectively both her political and her commercial influence in that province. By sending out two German Protestants to the city of Kiao Chou, ecclesiastical partiality will be avoided; but, none the less, German influence will continue to be predominant in Shantung. Russia thus far has had only one church in Peking, and no missions to the Chinese. If, however, her influence should extend in the north, there is no doubt that the Russian Church would also be es-

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tablished in the same region, and be supported by all the political power of the Government.

American missionaries have been free from the suspicion of acting as political allies; and they thus possess a decided advantage in attracting the natives to an honest acceptance of the Christian religion. The question now arises, Would American missionaries be helped or hindered by being transferred, from their present position of toleration and protection under the Chinese Government, to the rule of a French, a German, or a Russian colony?

If Americans unite with the English in maintaining an open door in China, the rights of their religious enterprises, as well as those of commerce, will be secured without provoking the antagonism of the Chinese or being implicated in the downfall of the Chinese Empire. A failure to help China in preserving her independent sovereignty would be discreditable to the principles and spirit of Christianity, and would give a serious set-back to the efforts and aims of American missionaries in a large part of China.

Fourth, there remains the consideration of American influence in the education of China. It is most creditable to the broad and enlightened spirit of the American people that thus far Americans have taken an active part in promoting among the Chinese general learning, science, and a love of truth and enlightenment. In the missionary establishments —whether Protestant or Roman Catholic—of France, Germany, and Great Britain there are many excellent schools for teaching Christian books and training native preachers; but the only institutions which include more or less a thorough investigation of the various branches of Western science are those connected with the American missions. The Universities in Peking and Nanking, the colleges in Tung-Cho and Shantung, the Anglo-Chinese colleges in Shanghai and Foochow, and St. John's College in Shanghai are the more important; and all these are maintained by American missionary societies.

In the Government institutions for Western learning, the president of the Imperial College in Peking for more than a quarter of a century was Rev. W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D., author of "A Cycle of Cathay"; the president of the Tientsin University is Prof. Charles Tenney; and the president of the new university in Shanghai is Rev. John S. Ferguson. These three are all Americans, formerly connected with the American missions.

The new International Institute, to be established in Peking,—consisting of public auditorium, class-rooms and reception-rooms, a library

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and reading-room, a museum or exhibit-hall,—while international in its support and management, is now carried on by three Americans; and it affords Americans, in friendly accord with other nationalities, a much desired opportunity of influencing the governing classes of China. One building erected by an American would tend more to the peaceful development of China than a thousand times its cost spent on a fort or a man-of-war.

Plans for imbuing the Chinese with the spirit of modern enlightenment, for widening their sphere of knowledge, for teaching them new and better methods of education, for promoting learning, literature, the arts and sciences, for developing the whole nature of man, and for blessing the whole life of a nation would not only command the attention of the Chinese, but would be carried out with no frustration from foreign Powers.

This is the "open door" for Americans in securing in China an influence political, commercial, and religious; and as our influence in this way expands, the influence of others may also increase,—all tending to the welfare of the Chinese people and the maintenance of their own rule, made just, liberal, enlightened, and pure by the beneficent impulse of true friends from other nations.

GILBERT REID.

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THE AUTHORITY OF CRITICISM.

THE comparatively recent visit of M. Ferdinand Brunetière to this country has stimulated among us fresh interest in a question that is almost as old as the hills, and as varied in the forms it assumes; to wit, What is the weight of authority carried by criticism? Is there such a thing, men are asking themselves, as a science of criticism, or is all criticism at bottom merely the expression of an individual opinion, unsupported, or supported in varying degrees, by other individual opinions? If it is well-nigh impossible to eliminate the personal equation in strictly scientific experiments, is it worth while, they ask, to try to eliminate it from our studies in the semi-sciences, such as ethics and history, or in the arts? In other words, is not criticism a present, individual act; ought not the critic to say "I" instead of "we"; and is not every one of us that reads a book or looks at a picture as much master of his own likes and dislikes as the typical Englishman is lord of his own castle?

Plainly this question is almost as old as the race; for it is fundamentally the question men have been asking themselves since primitive times, since the very first attempt on the part of some bold innovator to break up what the late Mr. Bagehot aptly called "the cake of custom." A conscious, or semi-conscious, assertion of the right of individual judgment is the basis of every step of progress that humanity has made; and, speaking loosely, the history of civilization is the history of the emancipation of the individual will and judgment. The authority of society has not indeed been abrogated; but it retains the force of law over our actions only, and principally on utilitarian grounds. "Society thinks so; therefore, a thing is right," is a dictum that will stand in the way of few liberal-minded men in this year of grace.

But, if men have been daring to tell society for centuries that it is in error with regard to this or that point of ethics or politics, it is not surprising that they should long ago have mustered up courage to tell the small cultivated portion of society not only that it is in error with regard to particular books and objects of art, but that it is in error in thinking that it has any special call or right to pronounce judgment in such matters. This is precisely what Perrault did in his famous contro-

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versy with Boileau over the comparative merits of the ancients and the moderns.

Just two hundred years have elapsed since Perrault finished the third part of his "Parallèle"; and the controversy, with a somewhat shifted base, is still raging in France, with MM. Brunetière and Lemaître as protagonists. It is no longer a question of Homer and Vergil *versus* Chapelain, or even whether in translation Pindar is intelligible to the wife of a worthy French magistrate; but it is pretty largely a question of the importance of the seventeenth century, as compared with the nineteenth, and of the benefit to the student of classifying properly a work of art, compared with the benefit to be derived from treating such a work as an object of æsthetic or psychologic interest merely. In other words, the chief critical problem which the French mind is endeavoring to solve to-day is a more complex form of the problem with which it was struggling two centuries ago, and contains precisely the same elements that all great mental problems involve; viz., the value or worthlessness of what the present has preserved from the past, and the rights of the individual, as opposed to the claims of society.

But the controversy between the ancients and the moderns was not confined to France; indeed, that country, as M. Brunetière shows, took up the question in a curiously belated fashion. And in like manner the present controversy between collective and individualistic, or, if we prefer, academic and impressionist, criticism, is not confined to the partisans of MM. Brunetière and Lemaître. In England the late Matthew Arnold did doughty battle for the cause of ordered criticism; and Prof. Saintsbury has for years been doing his best to wave the flag of the impressionists. In America Lowell's influence was, on the whole, conservative; while Mr. Hamlin Garland, able and sincere writer though he be, and most of the strenuous admirers of Walt Whitman have borne the standard of individualism to a quite impregnable position—whether on the heights of reason or among the fens of folly must be determined later.

But, over and above the labors of individual critics, there are two forces at work in all parts of the Western world that continue to carry on this conflict, often unconsciously. These two forces are the teachers and the reporters. Nearly all persons who engage in any form of teaching are interested in preserving the sway of authority, and may be counted on the side of conservative criticism. On the other hand, men whose business it is primarily to amuse and interest, and only secondarily to instruct, society, are not led to uphold the sway of authority (save in

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matters of religion and politics about which their patrons may be sensitive) simply because what holds by the past is not likely to prove as interesting as what touches the present or looks to the future.

Reporters, then,—and the term practically includes all writers who minister to public curiosity,—may be counted, in most cases, on the side of individualistic criticism. That is to say, the reportorial spirit counts; for newspaper critics *per se* are usually hidebound sticklers for academic methods. As the reporter, owing to the waning force of traditional checks upon a mixed and rapidly evolving society, plays quite a part in the midst of us, and is likely to gain power rather than lose it in the near future, it follows that impressionist criticism will not lose ground among us for some time to come, even if it does not grow rampant. On the other hand, as our teachers and journalistic critics are rarely possessed of broad culture, the real force and value of the academic principles they stand for tend to become enfeebled and obscured. Hence, it is not so much a battle of the critics that we are likely to observe in America as a *mêlée*.

If all this be true, it would seem to be worth our while to endeavor to determine where the truth lies with regard to this vexed problem of the authority of criticism. If M. Brunetière is right, and M. Lemaître wrong, it will be well to try to check our present propulsion toward impressionism. If M. Brunetière is wrong,—I use his name only because he is plainly the foremost living representative of academic criticism,—then we may feel easy about the go-as-you-please methods of some of our critics, and may give ourselves up to quite a hedonistic cult of frank individualism. If, however, both of these distinguished men are right in part, and both are wrong in part, it is obvious that it all the more behooves us to seek to establish the proper limits of the principles of criticism each strives to apply; for the more complex our principles of thought and action, the more chance there is of our going dangerously astray in their application. It is hardly necessary to add that a presumption lies in favor of the last hypothesis, not only because extremes are rarely safe, but because two great critics, or two numerous factions of critics, are not likely to be enthusiastic supporters of opposing principles without having positive reasons of weight to actuate and sustain them in their contentions.

Our first question is, then, whether M. Brunetière is right when he asks us to distrust our individual judgment about a piece of literature, and to make a study of criticism and literary history in order to discover the proper value and rank of the work to be judged, before we venture

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to form or express a settled opinion concerning it. This is practically what he does ask, although he lays most stress on a particular demand; to wit, that we shall pay special attention to the matter of genres—that is, to the different forms or categories of literature. It is also what Matthew Arnold asked, although he laid most stress on the matter of general culture. But M. Lemaître demurs at once. He says, in substance: You are leaving out of sight the main object for which men write and read books, viz., to receive pleasure and, partly, to give it. Your abstract genres, your epics and dramas, creatures of your own brains, become your tyrants and doom you to hopeless drudgery. It is no longer possible for you to take up a book and simply enjoy it. I, *too, could do your kind of criticism if I had a mind to; but if I did,* I should be turned into a solemn magistrate, thinking forever of the black cap I must soon put on. Now this demurrer has plainly its basis in common sense, and is a wholesome corrective of the claims of the academic critic when these take an extreme form. It is obvious that certain minds will always rebel at a hard and fast code of rules for critical reading, and that most minds will rebel sometimes. Not only are there books that we want to read without analysis, but there are times when we prefer to read a book, which at other times we should be glad to analyze. We do not care to analyze the "Prisoner of Zenda": it would scarcely pay us to analyze it, although one enterprising student of architecture has drawn an elaborate plan of the remarkable castle. Yet we were all eager to read it; and we are most of us glad now that we did read it. On the other hand, we ought at one time or another to make a careful analytic study of Shakespeare's Sonnets; yet there are some of us who like to have a pocket edition of these divine poems with us on a railway journey, where careful study is plainly out of the question.

Again, we are constantly repeating to young people the injunction that they should begin to read classical poems and novels as soon as they are able to comprehend them; but we do not say at the same time that they must wait until they understand the main facts about the "evolution of genres" before they form an opinion of the general value and interest to themselves of the literature with which they have been brought in contact. In this case, however, we do apply a part at least of M. Brunetière's critical philosophy; for we rely chiefly on the verdicts of past generations in our choice of the classics we recommend to the young. Still, it remains true that the most critically minded of us cannot be critical always, and that large classes of readers can never be crit-

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ical in any true sense of the word. So M. Brunetière's principles hold good for only a small body of readers, and not at all times and seasons even for these. It is idle, however, to think that he has ever meant them to be taken strictly by the majority, by what we call politely the reading public; yet there is a sense in which they may be laid to heart by every one, and inculcated even in a very young child.

Reduced to their lowest terms, the principles for which most academic critics stand, are, I think, three in number: (1) That due weight should be given to the collective wisdom of the past and the trained knowledge of the present; (2) that there are more or less ascertainable degrees of value in the various genres of artistic production; and (3) that no art can be absolutely divorced from ethics.

It follows at once from the assumption of these three principles that if it can be shown that a special kind of poetry, say the epic, is of greater value (that is, makes a higher and wider appeal to the minds and hearts of men in general) than another kind, say the elegy, it is not merely a mistake of judgment to prefer the latter to the former, but also, where sufficient knowledge is available,—a point which is covered by the first principle given above,—an ethical lapse of a more or less venial character. In fine, if there were such a person as a purely academic critic of perfect fearlessness, he would affirm that to prefer Gray's "Elegy" to "Paradise Lost" is not only foolish, but wrong: for this is the sense in which he accepts the dictum that art cannot be divorced from ethics; it being quite possible for an academic critic to acquiesce in the truth of the maxim "Art for art's sake," provided it be interpreted rationally. In other words, the academic critic, while he may not judge works of art from a preconceived ethical point of view, and demand that they serve some definite ethical purpose, will, if he be consistent, assert emphatically that, as no judgment can be formed without entailing some corresponding responsibility, and as objects of art must be judged before we can determine whether the emotions produced by them are really wholesome or harmful, it follows that art, by entailing responsibilities upon all who are brought into contact with it,—and what experience in life does not entail upon us the responsibility of determining whether it be wholesome or harmful?—cannot in the last analysis be divorced from ethics.

If, now, it be urged that what we ought to examine and pass judgment upon is not the object of art that produces emotions in us, but ourselves who experience these emotions, the critic will reply that he has

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always maintained the necessity for self-examination in æsthetic matters, but that, if a doubt be implied with regard to the validity of objective judgments in the domain of the arts, such doubt must apply as well to the validity of all other objective judgments, with the result that we are landed either in pure idealism or in universal scepticism. An objection, however, that is so far-reaching is practically no objection at all.

But certainly this strange doctrine, that it is in some way wrong to prefer a poem, a picture, or a statue, of an inferior genre to one of a superior genre, will not be admitted by many persons without considerable protest. Yet, if it be once granted that there are higher and lower forms of art, and that it is the duty of every man, not merely to act on the highest level possible, but also to expose his soul to the highest influences possible, it follows that to prefer wilfully the lower to the higher in any particular is, strictly speaking, an ethical lapse. Many of us are, of course, absolved from all blame in this regard on account of our ignorance: those of us who are not ignorant have generally tried to justify ourselves by affirming that, while there may be genres, there is no proof that one is higher than another; that it is a mere assumption of *a priori* criticism to say, for example, that a fine ode like Gray's "Progress of Poesy" is *per se* superior to the same poet's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard,"—an opinion held, perhaps, both by Gray himself and by Matthew Arnold.

The answer made by the academic critic to this contention will naturally bring into question his first principle; viz., that due weight should be given to the collective wisdom of the past and to the trained knowledge of the present. The ode, he will say, stands at the head of all forms of lyrical poetry, because in it the subjective emotions of the poet are fused to a white heat. The ancients regarded the ode as the greatest of lyrical forms; and modern students of poetry have as yet seen no reason to abandon this view. The finest ode of Pindar ought then to be superior to any elegy of Mimnermus, and Gray's ode should outrank his "Elegy," unless in the former poem the poet has fallen below the level proper to the genre selected, and in the latter poem has risen to an equal or greater degree,—a phenomenon which seems to have occurred, if the two pieces be regarded as wholes, and which both explains and justifies the popular verdict in the matter.

This answer shows us at once how interdependent the three principles of the academic critic really are. If there are genres of higher and lower value, then it is our duty to try to put ourselves in greater sympathy with the higher than with the lower, or, in other words, we can-

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not, if we would, divorce art from ethics. But we cannot establish our contention that there are superior and inferior genres, unless we insist that due weight be given to that collective wisdom of the past which has established and differentiated the various genres. It is the conscious, or unconscious, perception of the interdependence of these principles of academic criticism that has led the impressionists, who desire to escape from ethical responsibility, to attack with relentless vigor that deference to the judgment of the past inculcated by the first principle. They cannot well attack the second part of this principle, that due weight should be given to the trained knowledge of the present; for this would be to undermine the authority of their own privileged order of *mandarins:* they can, however, say much about a servile dependence on an effete past.

But, if the collective wisdom of the ages be of paramount importance in ethics, philosophy, law, and all studies in which fresh material for experimentation is not being continually introduced, it is difficult to see how its authority, within reasonable limits, can be questioned with regard to criticism. That genres exist even in art is a fact as well determined as the existence of the various mental faculties. That we do not know the ultimate nature of art in the one case, or of mind in the other, does not prove that we have no need of the hypotheses of criticism and of metaphysics. That there is a hierarchy of genres is a fact as well proved as that there is a hierarchy of mental powers or of bodily functions.[1] To cut the "Æneid" out of Latin literature would be like putting out a man's eye: to cut out Juvenal's Satires would be like amputating a finger. "Solvitur inquirendo." Ask even the most rampant impressionist—except, perhaps, the ultra-Whitmanite—which he would rather have written, Shakespeare's dramas or Burns's songs, Scott's

[1] With regard to this important matter of the hierarchy of the genres one cannot do better than to follow Brunetière in quoting Taine: "Dans le monde imaginaire, comme dans le monde réel, il y a des rangs divers parce qu'il y a des valeurs diverses. Le public et les connaisseurs assignent les uns et estiment les autres. Nous n'avons pas fait autre chose depuis cinq ans, en parcourant les écoles de l'Italie, des Pays-Bas, et de la Grèce. Nous avons toujours, et à chaque pas, porté des jugements. Sans le savoir nous avions en main un instrument de mesure. Les autres hommes sont comme nous, et en critique comme ailleurs il y a des vérités acquises. Chacun reconnait aujourd'hui que certains poètes, comme Dante et Shakespeare, certains compositeurs, comme Mozart et Beethoven, tiennent la première place dans leur art. On l'accorde à Goethe, parmi les écrivains de notre siècle; parmi les Hollandais, à Rembrandt; parmi les Vénitiens, à Titien. Trois artistes de la Renaissance italienne, Léonard de Vinci, Michel-Ange, et Raphaël, montent d'un consentement unanime au-dessus de tous les autres." ["L'Évolution des Genres," I. (De la Critique), p. 273.]

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romances or Maupassant's tales, Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" or Macaulay's "Essays," and the answer will nearly always indicate a tacit acceptance of the theory of a hierarchy of genres. "A mere instance of the force of convention," the Whitmanite will say, "Walt Whitman's 'Leaves of Grass' put all the genres to the blush, and the academic critics, too. You will not dare to mention Shakespeare and Milton in the same breath with him!" An advocate of free love might make just such a reply to an argument in favor of monogamy.

In fact it can be easily shown that the distinction and gradations sanctioned by the great critics of the past, and upheld by the arguments of the academic critics of the present, are founded on just the same basis as the distinctions and gradations established and supported by the jurist and the scientific moralist. The critic may often deal with matters of less transcendent importance than his fellow-students: but his science, in the last analysis, is as securely based as theirs; for all three ultimately rest on authority and present judgment. He has no such sanctions to rely upon as the jurist and the moralist have; hence he is often doomed to see uninformed opinions prevail: his domain is one that can be easily entered from all sides; hence he is compelled to struggle with numerous rivals who are continually betraying the cause of the science he serves. But he feels that his position is at bottom as secure as that of any student of any semi-science can be; and he bides his time in the hope of better days.

We have now seen what, in brief, are the contentions of the academic critic; and we must admit that if his claim, that criticism rests for its authority on the same basis as ethics and law, be established, it is expedient for us, if not incumbent upon us, to give criticism its due influence in the formation of our literary and artistic tastes and judgments. If we once bring ourselves to do this, we shall find that the parallel between criticism and its sister semi-sciences holds very closely. Just as there are some ethical principles acted upon by all civilized men, others acted upon chiefly by certain races, others only by individuals of a high type of character, so there are principles of criticism universal, racial, and individual in their application. For example, all men have practically agreed—at least till the present generation—to regard poetry as superior, on the whole, to prose; the French have practically agreed that the drama which preserves the unities is the best for their stage; most highly cultured individuals are agreed in giving a greater value to the sonnet as a poetic form than would be accorded it by the average reader. In the

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light of these facts we must infer that there are some principles of criticism so binding upon us that we ought to endeavor not only to make an individual application of them, but also to inculcate them in our children; others which, as Americans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, or what not, it will probably be to our advantage to follow; still others which, in all likelihood, will appeal to us more and more as we advance in culture. In short, no man who is seeking to develop his literary and artistic taste and judgment can afford to be a thoroughgoing impressionist any more than he can afford to be an absolute individualist in his daily life and conduct.

If there be any force in the above reasoning, it is plain that something at least of M. Brunetière's teaching may be taken to heart by us all. The duty of fitting ourselves not merely to enjoy the great poetry of the world, but to prefer it to all other forms of æsthetic enjoyment, may be insisted upon with advantage. All men will not attain to such enjoyment or such preference; but this is no reason why all men should not be admonished to make the effort to attain. No man follows perfectly the law of Christ; yet no preacher ceases to uphold that law as an ideal pattern of conduct. It is clear, then, that no man or child should be allowed to say complacently, as one so often hears said, "I don't care for poetry." Perhaps they cannot be made to care for it; but their complacency may at least be shaken.

Again, it is just as certain that there are higher and lower genres of poetry as that poetry is superior, on the whole, to prose. Hence it is our duty to fit ourselves to prefer the higher genres to the lower. This, again, we shall not all attain to. Some people are so constituted that elegiac musings and speculations, such as those that make up the "In Memoriam," will always attract them more than the stately march of the "Paradise Lost," or the subtle beauty and keen interest of the "Divine Comedy." On the other hand, one can find persons who do not care at all for such admirable elegiac verse as Lamartine's "Le Lac." In either case, we may be unable to correct the bias; but we need not fail to point out that it is an unfortunate one, if any reliance should be placed upon the collective wisdom of the past, and the trained judgment of the present.

But our teaching need not stop here. There will always be persons who will care more for the subject-matter of a book than for the style in which it is written; yet we should none the less insist that it is the duty of every man to fit himself to tell a good style from a bad, to enjoy an excellent style, and to eschew, whenever it is possible, the

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books that are clumsily written. An insistence upon this matter of taste in style has, after many generations, placed French literature in its present position of supremacy: a failure to insist upon it has left German literature where it is to-day. If we Americans and Englishmen will only cultivate our taste for style, and will remember, too, that principle upon which Matthew Arnold was forever harping, that great literature needs a sound subject-matter, we shall all be saved from many bizarre judgments and opinions. We shall not then be able to rank Whitman, true poet though he sometimes was, among the *dii majores* of song, nor to imagine that Tennyson or Wordsworth or Shelley can rightly be mentioned in the same breath with Milton.

But, although we shall do well to respect the academic critic when he bids us distrust our own judgments and consult the authoritative opinions of the best critics past and present, it does not follow that we must all endeavor to inform ourselves about the evolution of genres, the details of literary history, or any of the numerous matters that assume great importance in the eyes of the professional critic. Few of us have the time for such minute study: fewer still have any inclination for it. One can love and get pleasure from flowers without knowing much about botany; similarly, one can love and get pleasure from literature without being a trained critic. The botanist and the critic, to be sure, ought, unless they become dry-as-dusts, to have decided advantages over the mere lovers of flowers and of books; but the latter are in no bad way if their minds and souls have been enlightened in a broad and general manner. This broad and general enlightenment will begin to dawn upon us the moment we are brought in contact with great literature and art; provided always that our tendency to excessive individualism is checked by proper training. Such being the case, we are in duty bound to range ourselves by the side of those academic critics who offer to furnish this training which, as we have just seen, is by no means technical in character.

But, granting that criticism has a certain authority over us with regard to the submission of our individual judgments relative to such matters as the supremacy of poetry to prose, of one genre to another, of form to formlessness, it would seem to be true also that, as we are constituted with varying tastes and aptitudes, and brought up in varying environments, we are more or less forced to form subjective opinions and thus to become impressionist critics, at least for the time being. If all criticism is, in its essence, subjective, and attains objectivity only through its subsequent acceptance by minds other than the critic's own,

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which in turn is a subjective procedure, it is certain that our own judgment or opinion with regard to any object of art will be of more vital importance to us than any conventional judgment or opinion can possibly be. In other words, the impressionist critic would seem to have a *rôle* as important and a province as extended as the academic critic has.

There can scarcely be two opinions with regard to this matter. The fact that there are impressionist critics who are widely read and enjoyed seems of itself to prove their usefulness. It is not possible to deny that, by concentrating themselves upon some favorite author, artist, book, or painting, impressionist critics have added to the world's knowledge, and, what is more, to its enjoyment; that they have actually forged weapons for their foes, the academic critics, to use against them. Who, for example, has done more to make contemporary France return to a proper admiration of Lamartine, than that prince of impressionists, M. Lemaître? Certainly not M. Brunetière. But impressionists are justified in existing not only by the good they do, but also by the fact that there is an abundant range of work for them to accomplish. There are regions in the domain of literature and art over which the academic critic has little or no control. No one can affirm, for example, that it is the duty of the academic critic to set us rules for the enjoyment or even full comprehension of that department of poetry known as "society verse." He can tell us, indeed, that it should not be ranked high in the scale of the genres; but, if he be wise, he will scarcely undertake to tell us how much we ought to care for it, or when it will most appeal to us.

The reason for this proper reticence on his part is very simple. Society verse does not necessarily appeal to the natural man; and the academic critic, in most of his reasoning, finds it necessary to give his principles of criticism the broadest basis possible. He tells us that it is human to admire the sublime and to weep at the pathetic; but he cannot tell us with any truth that it is human to smile at the cleverness of a smart social set. The academic critic feels at home, therefore, in praising the "Paradise Lost" and the "Antigone": he will do well to leave to the impressionist—to the man to the manner born, like the late Mr. Locker-Lampson (who indeed could theorize also on the subject in an admirable way)—the task of initiating us into the charming mysteries of society verse. The moment, however, that the impressionist goes too far in his advocacy of his favorite poet or kind of poetry, the academic critic, with his broader knowledge and wider range of thought, is ready to check him. Pope, for instance, is, in many respects, a poet of society whom it would be easy for a certain kind of impressionist to overrate, and for

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another kind, preferring, let us say, the poetry of nature, to underrate, even to the point of proclaiming that the brilliant satirist was no poet at all. Both these extremes of judgment would surely be corrected by a competent academic critic.

But not only can the impressionist critic serve us as the best possible guide in certain well-defined regions of literature and art; he is also the person to help us in the exploration of new regions. There are genres like the novel, the possibilities of which we are probably far from knowing thoroughly. With respect to present work in these genres, it may be questioned whether the training and methods of the academic critic fit him for doing effective service: he is at his best in dealing with genres of which the capabilities have been long tested. The impressionist, on the other hand, unfettered by rules and traditions, is likely to be sympathetic with the fresh tentatives which creative genius is continually making in what we may call the "unclosed genres." He is the best critic for the new writers and, hence, for the majority of contemporary readers, who naturally form the clientage of the men who are making current literature.

Then, again, it is the impressionist critic who is best qualified to apply to the literature of the past those fresh and novel points of view which each advancing generation supplies,—a most important work when it is not undertaken in a captious and self-seeking spirit.

But surely, if all that has been said be true, the *rôle* of the impressionist is by no means a contemptible one. He not only has certain departments of art and literature practically under his control, but he can do his share in criticising the men and works of the past, and he has the lion's share of the critical labors of the present. He has no reason to call the academic critic by harsh names; yet he frequently does—seemingly because, being bound by few rules, he forgets that he is bound by any, even by those of courtesy. He generally takes up a favorite and becomes a partisan, after which he fancies that, in order to elevate his hero, he must labor to cast down other great men. He will praise Tintoretto while belittling Titian; he will laud Shelley while decrying Byron; and he pities the benighted soul that in the bonds and fetters of custom still grovels before the "crumbling idol." This is but to say that, although the *rôle* of the impressionist is a great one, he is often false to it. Narrow and bigoted critics of an academic kind there have been in abundance; and they have done much harm, but scarcely enough to equal that done by the wild impressionists who are forever running amuck through the storied realms of art and literature.

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We are not so much concerned, however, with the failings of our two varieties of critics as we are with the very practical question, how we may get safely steered through the wide sea of literature when so many helmsmen are offering their services; and this question we may perhaps answer in part by summing up the points we have been making.

We have seen already that, in certain matters, we shall do well to rely on the academic critics. We have seen that there are some universal principles of criticism that we should all learn to apply so far as we are able, such as the superiority of poetry to prose, of one genre to another, of form to formlessness. A moment's consideration will show us, furthermore, that corollaries from these principles are easily to be drawn and equally to be observed. Thus, for example, every schoolboy, not merely Macaulay's, should know that Vergil, Dante, and Milton, as great epic poets, are superior respectively to Horace, Petrarch, and Shelley, as great lyric poets, and should be ranked accordingly, and that if he does not like the greater poet so much as he does the inferior, it is either his own fault or his own misfortune, which, unless special reasons to the contrary exist, he should seek to remedy as best he may.

Within the same category of poetry, however, no such definite assignment of rank is, as a rule, possible, save when, as in the cases of Homer and Shakespeare, a universal consensus of opinion obtains the force of law. It is idle, for instance, to assert dogmatically that Dante is a greater poet than Milton, or *vice versa*. Yet nowhere in criticism is there more tendency to dogmatic utterance than in this very delicate matter of balancing the respective claims of two poets of the same type, whose rank is nearly even; and we cannot too often remind ourselves that dogma, although necessary perhaps at times, is never attractive or satisfactory to the inquiring and aspiring mind. It is open to us to urge everything we can in support of our favorite's claims,—the wider acceptance of Dante and his greater hold upon human sympathies, or Milton's treatment of the sublime, and his marvellous metrical mastery, —but, when all is said, when we have ranged the critics and summed up the arguments *pro* and *con*, we must frankly admit that there is still room for differences of opinion in this case and in all similar cases.

On the other hand, we cannot too firmly crush out such foolish recalcitrancy against established opinion as was once exhibited by a college student who, when asked whether he thought Bacon could have written Shakespeare's plays, replied indignantly, being more in love with philosophy than with poetry:—"Not much! He wouldn't have wasted his time on such wretched stuff!" That young man was not joking, on the

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principle that a foolish question required a foolish answer: he was merely furnishing an unconscious example of the folly of untrained impressionist criticism.

Other principles of universal, national, and class or individual application might be named that are equally binding upon us and that measure the extent of our reliance upon the academic critic. On the other hand, we have already seen that we should rely on the impressionist for criticism relative to "unclosed genres" like the novel and "non-universal genres" like society verse, to contemporary writers and artists, and to the work of the past in all the genres when it is necessary to reëxamine it from fresh and legitimate points of view. If we will only bear these principles in mind, we shall scarcely go far astray in choosing our critics, or in determining how far to follow them.

But if the critics, on their part, continue to assert, as so many of them do, that the average reader has no rights and that art and literature can be truly appreciated only by the elect, the *mandarins*, the public will most assuredly continue to commit its own peculiar absurdities, to consider "Tom Jones" an immoral book, and "Ben Hur" a great one; to read a thousand copies of "Trilby" to ten of the "Peau de Chagrin"; and to rejoice in the flat namby-pambyism of a "native author named Blank" or of a foreign author named Double Blank. And who shall blame them for their eccentricities, when the authority of criticism is so slightly esteemed by nine-tenths of the writers who call themselves critics?

W. P. TRENT.

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